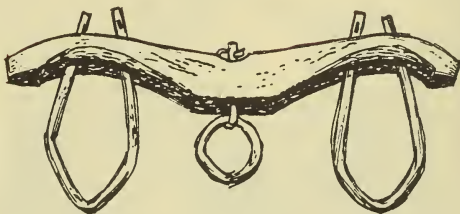






# LINCOLN ROOM

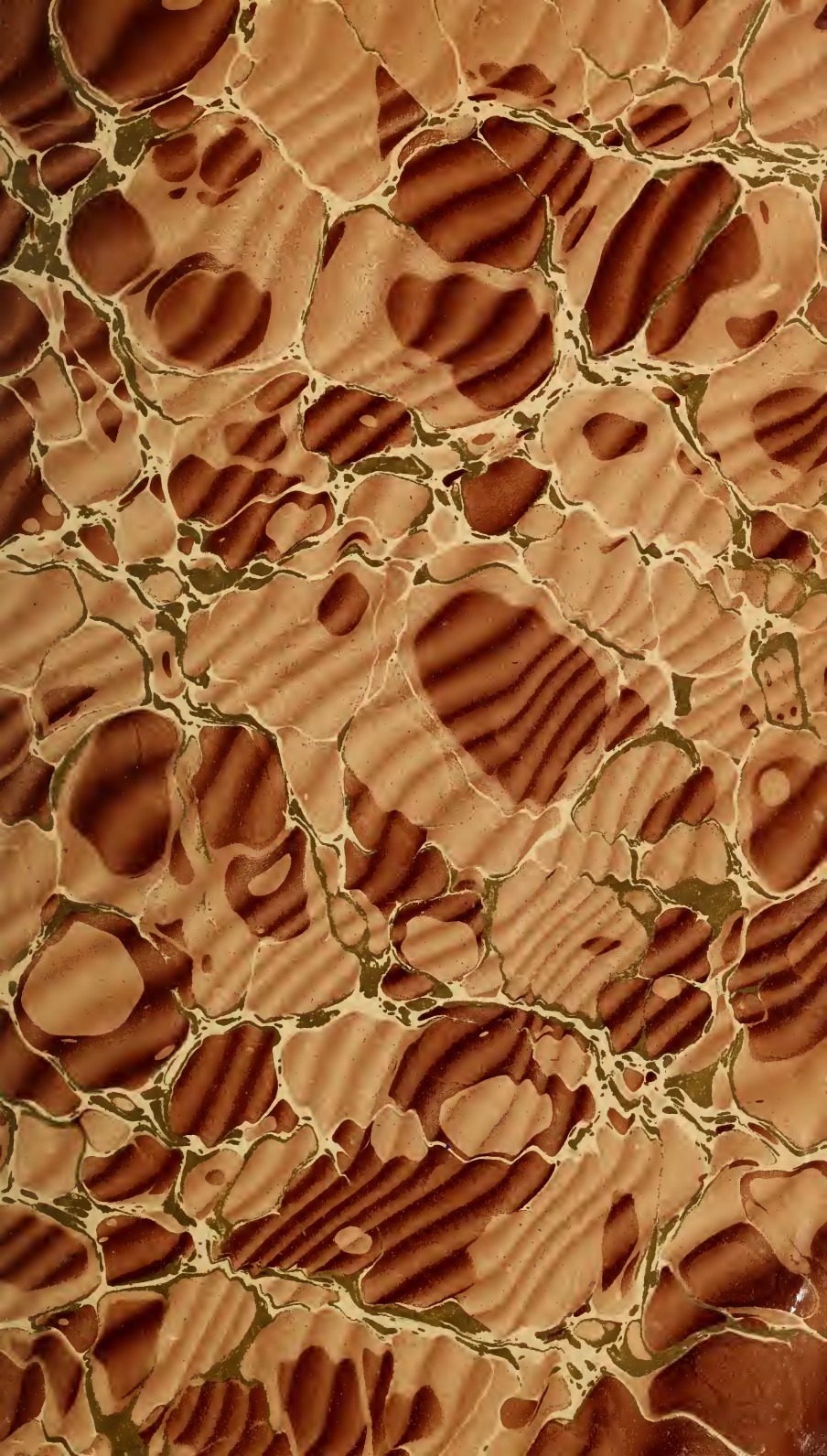


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OCTOBER SIXTEEN, EIGHTEEN  
HUNDRED FIFTY-FOUR, WAS  
A MEMORABLE DAY IN  
PEORIA. NONE APPREHENDED  
IT THEN, AND BUT FEW  
APPRECIATE IT NOW—  
SEVENTY YEARS AFTER.



# Abraham Lincoln

in

## Peoria, Illinois

by

H. C. Bryner

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"I saw and heard Lincoln  
and Douglas when a boy"

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LINCOLN Room

ONE HUNDRED COPIES  
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PEORIA, ILLINOIS  
U. S. A.  
OCTOBER SIXTEEN  
NINETEEN TWENTY-FOUR  
NOT FOR SALE

With my very best  
wishes

Edward J. Jacob

Oct 11-24

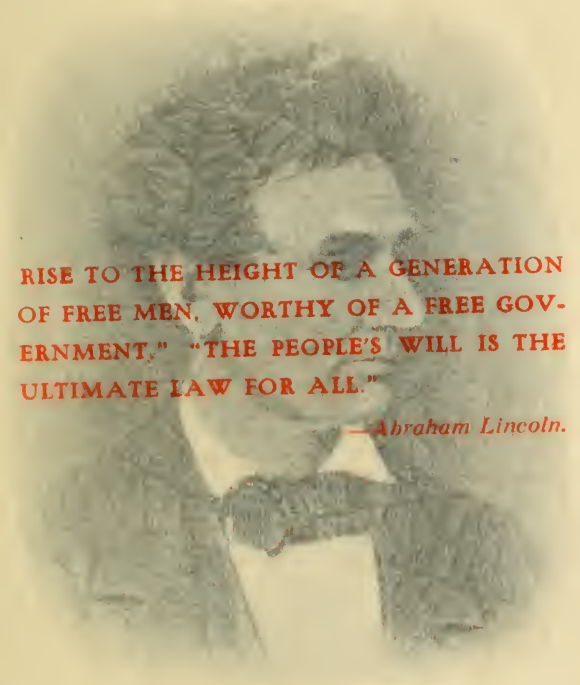


# Abraham Lincoln

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**H**e waved no sceptre, wore no crown,  
No acts ignoble marred his days;  
And when in cloud his sun went down  
The world, in darkness, sang his praise!

—*S. Patterson Prowse*  
*Late Librarian of the City of Peoria*

A faint, circular portrait of Abraham Lincoln serves as the background for the text. He is shown from the chest up, wearing a dark suit and a white shirt with a bow tie. His hair is dark and wavy, and he has a serious expression.

RISE TO THE HEIGHT OF A GENERATION  
OF FREE MEN, WORTHY OF A FREE GOV-  
ERNMENT," "THE PEOPLE'S WILL IS THE  
ULTIMATE LAW FOR ALL."

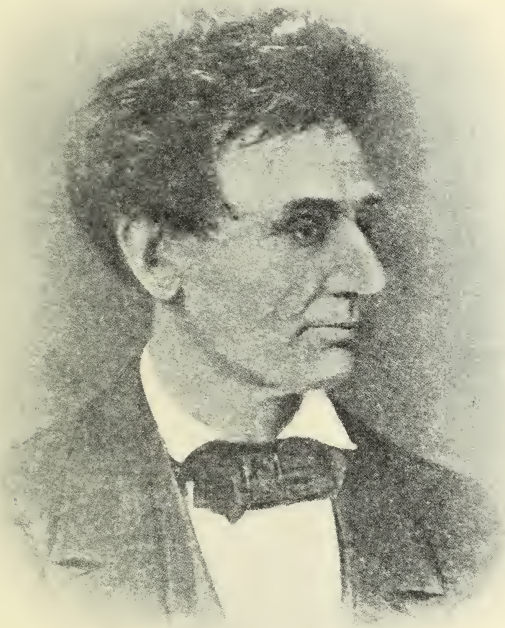
—*Abraham Lincoln.*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

# Abraham Lincoln

RISE TO THE HEIGHT OF A GENERATION  
OF FREE MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN  
He wanted no scepter, no crown  
No acts worthy of a king  
ERMENT. "THE PEOPLE'S WILL IS THE  
ULTIMATE LAW FOR ALL"  
And when in cloud his sun went down  
—Abraham Lincoln—  
The world in darkness, sang his praise!

—S. Patterson Prose  
Late Librarian of the City of Peoria



ABRAHAM LINCOLN





## CHAPTER ONE

October 16th, 1854, was a memorable day in Peoria. None apprehended it then, and but few appreciate it now—seventy years after.

It was the starting point of the race which won for Abraham Lincoln the Presidency of the United States—brought on the War of the Rebellion—led to the death of a half million men and twice that number disabled by disease and wounds. Made free men and women of four million slaves, and desolated almost every home in the land. Four years of human sacrifice and suffering. At every fireside heart-strings were swept by the fingers of Death. From a population of thirty-four million, a million and one-half were taken.

The monument in the Court House square bears the names of five hundred and twenty-five boys from Peoria, who died between April, 1861, and April, 1865, and Peoria had then less than one-tenth its present population. And the starting point of it all was at Peoria, that 16th day of October, 1854. As the evening shadows gather, I wander through the halls of memory and behold a picture of those earlier days. Peoria—"beautiful view"—for such is

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN PEORIA 1854

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the meaning of the word in the language of the Pottawattomies—only a village—bluffs covered with oak and hickory—undergrowth of hazel brush and wild blackberry—ravines in which the wolf still lingered. At the narrows butter-nuts, wild grapes, plums, pecans, persimmons and pawpaws. Rope ferries at either end of the lake—wild ducks floating upon the river's bosom. Clouds of black birds darkened the skies. The honk of the wild geese winging their way North or South in endless file the whole day long foretold the season's change. Morning and evening heard the drumming of partridges, or the call of the quail in back yards and streets.

Political times: the music of bands—of drums and fife with drummers and fifers garbed in colonial costume—the "Spirit of 76." Campaign songs—flags mounted on saplings with bunches of leaves at the top. Only thirty-four stars then. Floats with pretty girls in white representing Columbia and the several states. I see them at night upon the floor of my home—sleeping upon improvised beds upon the floor—my mother cooking for all. Not a *completed* railroad in Peoria, October 16th, 1854. No telegraph—no sewing machine—no telephone

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN PEORIA 1854

—tallow candles for illumination—butter, eggs and milk lowered into the cistern to keep fresh. And yet all of the comforts and luxury of today were born of the brain and brawn of that and the succeeding generation.

Amidst such scenes Lincoln and Douglas first met in debate in Peoria, October 16th, 1854.

## CHAPTER TWO

Drown's Peoria City Record of March 4th, 1854, gives the following description of Peoria at that date: -

"PEORIA IN 1854, though only in her 35th year, we will venture to say, is the most beautiful City in the West, its location is not surpassed by any, for the God of Nature in his wisdom formed its site so that there never was, nor is there any occasion of expending a thousand dollars to make every street in the whole City passible. Still, our "City Fathers" are, and have been for a year or two past, endeavoring to improve upon what God, after he had made it "saw that it was good;" but improvement is the order of the day. A few years since and most of our river towns now swelling into cities, were insignificant hamlets with a meagre backwoods population. Many of my readers will recall to mind, with a smile of satisfied pride the local and business condition of our TOWN, when the business was confined to the barter of hazel nuts and eggs, for buttons, beads, powder and shot. Miniature stores, based on a capital of a few hundreds,

consisting mainly of a chest of tea, a sack of coffee, a keg of three-picayune James' river tobacco, a barrel of "bald face," and a dozen butcher knives. And then again, the "country folks," after they had been to "town" and indulged a little in the "critur," about once a week, must have a little more indulgence in target demonstrations at a candle by night, or at the body of a turkey drawn with chalk on an "oak-puncheon," after they had got through with "trading" and ready to go home. Such like amusements comprised a good part of the time and business along our river line of settlements, which are now matters of memory only and thrown far to the rearward in the onward march of improvement. Whence the timid fawn stood by the margin of the stream or lake, feeding on the luxuriant herbage, or viewing its shadow in the limpid wave; or the yell of the panther awoke the echoes of the wood—the sonorous breathing of steam engines, or the more thrilling, loud, long, terrific, terrible whistle of a locomotive is heard, and thriving towns and cities stand out in beauty along the shore, doing a business of countless thousands in merchandise and produce. Speaking of a locomotive and its whistle, it is now beginning to be



## ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN PEORIA 1854

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heard in all our continent—we have heard its clear shriek in this City for a few months past, shouting, “take care! take care!! the iron image moves!” What is that image like? Has it breath? and what is it? It is like some wonderful thing seen in a startling dream, imagined to be for some great purpose inexplicable! It has breath and arms, hands and feet, and is a live metal with a steam soul—here now, and in an hour 40, 50 or 60 miles hence, dragging after it its weak creator, with its bundles of rich substances; and sometimes it takes upon its shoulders great palaces full of human life and plunges into rivers and lakes and across the wide prairies; and wherever it goes it whistles! The lips of a thousand human whistles in one grand strain united could not raise a note half so loud and thrilling as the faintest effort of one iron man. Old men when you hear the whistle of the iron man of this day, do you ever think of the time you whistled to “drive off fear,” or “drive dull cares away?”—How loud you could “sound,” how the woods would ring and the hills echo with the tunes that “come natural.” How pleasant you felt whistling. You never expected then to hear a big piece of iron whistle louder than you could!

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN PEORIA 1854

You can hear it now. The iron whistle is every man's musician—he is the particular favorite of the fast spirit enterprise, and the children of trade dance to the melody of his strain, while cold eyed speculation smiles, and grim-faced avarice laughs aloud when he whistles in the distance."

(A fac-simile photograph of this four page paper will be found on the last pages of this book.)

## CHAPTER THREE

Although not six years of age I recall the day perfectly. I was a strong "Douglas man"—how he would appeal to a boy of that period. The "Little Giant"—the foremost statesman of the day—arrayed in frock coat and black pants, wearing a high silk hat, white shirt and collar, with black stock. He came to our western village where such things were unknown—a being superior and supreme in my regard.

The Democratic Committee had appointed a Committee of sixty to arrange for his reception, and had passed the following resolution:

"Resolved: That the Democracy of Peoria County who wish to take part in the public reception of Judge Douglas be requested to meet at the "Three Mile House" (Potter's), on the Farmington road on Monday, the 16th inst., at 9 o'clock A. M. All who do so are requested to appear on horseback."

The Peoria Republican of Oct. 19, 1854 says—

"Mr. Douglas rode into our city yesterday at the head of a triumphal procession, seated in a

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN PEORIA 1854

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carriage drawn by four beautiful white palfreys and preceded by a band of music. Cannon boomed in welcome to the distinguished visitor and the cheers of his friends resounded through our quiet streets. He was waited upon by a committee of the faithful and escorted to the place of speaking, and the "distinguished chairman" (Washington Cockle) welcomed him to Peoria County in a terse and eloquent speech in which he seemed to assume that the Judge was the great man of the age—the greatest man of any age in the past, and greater than any man that may flourish in any age in the future."

In strange contrast was the quiet—undemonstrative entry of the tall, lank, homely and awkward Lincoln whose name and fame was to ring through the ages—Child of the Soil—friend of the people—the Emancipator of a race.

Child-like in his faith—

God-like in his courage—

Christ-like in his martyrdom.

The events which led up to this meeting form a fascinating page in the history of our country and will deserve the attention of the student who wishes to familiarize himself with the development of free America as it exists today.

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN PEORIA 1854

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The immediate cause of the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates, of which the Peoria meeting was the forerunner, was the Kansas-Nebraska bill introduced into the United States Senate in January, 1854, by Judge Douglas, which became a law May 31st, 1854.

This bill provided for the creation of two vast territories to be called respectively, Kansas and Nebraska. The inhabitants were to be allowed to decide for themselves whether or not slavery was to be permitted within their respective limits. The passage of this bill created sectional rancor and discord. The North saw in the measure a scheme to make slavery National, and Southern statesmen confirmed the opinion. Robert Toombs of Georgia, who afterwards became a member of the Confederate Cabinet, declared he would "yet live to call the roll of his slaves on Bunker's Hill." Squatters (Immigrants) flocked to Kansas and Nebraska from North and South—the one element firm to prevent the extension of slavery into these sections, the other seeking to create new slave territory. This question became known as the doctrine of "Squatter Sovereignty."

## CHAPTER FOUR

The Peoria debate could hardly be called a prearranged affair. A short time before the Peoria meeting, Judge Douglas had addressed the crowd at the State Fair held in Springfield, and the Whigs had arranged with Judge Lyman Trumble to make reply upon the day following, but he failed to appear, and Mr. Lincoln was called upon to fill his place. The Democrats had arranged a series of meetings for Judge Douglas—the first to be held at Peoria, October 16th. So soon as announcement of these meetings was made, the Whigs in Peoria got busy and an invitation was sent to Mr. Lincoln to appear and make answer. This invitation was signed by:

John Hamlin  
A. P. Bartlett  
Lorin G. Pratt  
Dr. Joseph C. Frye  
Charles Ballance  
George C. Bestor  
Hugh W. Reynolds  
Alexander McCoy  
John Dredge  
John D. Arnold



ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN PEORIA 1854

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Jonathan K. Cooper  
George W. McClellan  
Thomas Bryant  
John T. Lindsay  
John A. McCoy  
David D. Irons  
Valentine Dewein  
William A. Herron  
Edward Dickinson  
and John King

(A facsimile of this invitation is given upon  
another page.)



# LINCOLN'S INVITATION TO PEORIA

Peoria Sept: 28/54

Dear Abraham Lincoln

Sir:

Understanding that Judge Douglas is expected to address our citizens on the 16<sup>th</sup> of next month on the premises of the Peoria Hankland Hall, desiring that where we may then assemble should not be expected to pass without further notice - the undersigned on behalf of themselves and the citizens of Peoria, are respectfully desiring that you not forget to join us on the evening of the 16<sup>th</sup> you will consent to be present and take a prominent opportunity after the speech to be given to discuss and give us our own views upon the subject. Permit us to say here that we are not dissatisfied of the good service you have heretofore repeatedly rendered us, here because here you have already done; and on that account we trust the better encourage us to have at least look for a renewal of the same.

Trusting you may find it convenient to be present personally to our Union, and that, at no distant day, it being in our power to testify our high esteem and appreciation of your patriotic & recent public services, the remain very truly

your friends & fellow citizens

Jas. H. Ainslie

A. W. Boyer

Samuel H. Smith

George C. Tracy

to Peoria

Geo. C. Deeks

Wm. J. Arnold

Edw. W. Reynolds

Quadrant H. Boyer

Wm. H. Larkin

Thomas J. Smith

John J. Lindon

Mollie Eoy

H. H. Brown

V. H. Brown

A. W. Eoy

Wm. H. Brown

John H. H.

Edward Dickinson

John King



Mr. Lincoln accepted the invitation and it was afterwards arranged that Mr. Douglas was to speak first—Lincoln to follow, and Douglas to close. No limit was set as to time each was to occupy.

The meeting had been advertised as a Douglas meeting. A platform had been erected upon the South side of the old Court House, entrance to which was through a window from the office of the Circuit Clerk. Judge Douglas commenced his speech at half after two and did not conclude until after five o'clock. I now quote from an account given by the late Dr. Robert Boal of Peoria:

“After he concluded, Mr. Lincoln arose and said he had a proposal to make to the audience which was, that they go home and get their suppers, then come back and he would talk to them. As an additional inducement, he said that Senator Douglas had the closing speech, and if you would like to see him skin me, you had better come back. The people had stood for nearly three hours in front of the steps of the old court house, from which the speakers addressed them. They were tired from standing so long, but they came back in increased num-

ber, and with increased interest. At about 7 o'clock, Mr. Lincoln slowly arose, and, after surveying the large audience, commenced his speech by saying: 'He thought he could appreciate an argument, and, at times, believed he could make one, but when one denied the settled and plainest facts of history, you could not argue with him; the only thing you could do, would be to stop his mouth with a corn cob.'

'I write this as I recollect it, and I believe I have given it substantially as he said it. Senator Douglas had an appointment to speak at Lacon the next day. The late Judge Silas Ramsey and myself went to Peoria to hear the speeches and to induce Mr. Lincoln to go to Lacon the next day to answer Senator Douglas. He agreed to go. We took him up in a carriage. Senator Douglas went up in the mail steamer to Chillicothe, which connected with the branch of the Rock Island, which was only finished to that point. A number of Peorians went up on the boat and took the train to Sparland. Among them was the late Judge Powell of Peoria. In the conversation which took place between the senator and the judge, the latter told the senator that Mr. Lincoln was



B. C. BRYNER  
Through whose efforts this book was made possible.

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN PEORIA 1854

on the way up to Lacon to reply to him. Mr. Douglas was surprised to hear it, but said little in reply. He did not expect to meet Mr. Lincoln. When we arrived about 1 o'clock at Lacon, we found Senator Douglas at the hotel. Mr. Lincoln went in to see him, and, after a few minutes, came out and told his friends that Mr. Douglas said he was sick and worn out, and would not speak. Mr. Lincoln with his usual magnanimity, said he would not take advantage of him and would make no speech. The people were greatly disappointed. Nearly half the population in the county were in town to hear the distinguished men. An agreement was made between Senator Douglas and Mr. Lincoln that both would go home and stop their meetings. Mr. Lincoln left soon after the arrangement was made. Senator Douglas remained until the next day, and left ostensibly for Chicago. I was going to Chicago and was with him in the omnibus. Between Lacon and Sparland a carriage met us and stopped the omnibus. Senator Douglas got out of it, and took his satchel with him. I said to him, 'I thought you intended to go to Chicago?' 'Yes,' he said, 'but I will catch the train at Henry.' Instead of taking the



## ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN PEORIA 1854

train at Henry, he went to Princeton, in Bureau county, and made a speech that day which Owen Lovejoy answered. In so doing, he violated the agreement made with Mr. Lincoln and made a remarkably rapid recovery from his illness."

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SPEECH OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN AT PEORIA, ILL., (OCT. 16, 1854) IN REPLY TO SENATOR STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

I insist that if there is anything which it is the duty of the whole people never to intrust to any hands but their own, that thing is the preservation and perpetuity of their own liberties and institutions. And if they shall think, as I do, that the extension of slavery endangers them more than any or all other causes, how recreant to themselves if they submit the question, and with it the fate of their country, to a mere handful of men bent only to self-interest. If this question of slavery extension were an insignificant one—one having no power to do harm—it might be shuffled aside in this way; and being, as it is, the great Behemoth of danger, shall the strong grip of the nation be loosened upon him, to intrust him to the hands of such feeble keepers?

But Nebraska is urged as a great Union-saving measure. Well, I too go for saving the Union. Much as I hate slavery, I would consent to the extension of it rather than see the

Union dissolved, just as I would consent to any great evil to avoid a greater one. But when I go to Union-saving, I must believe, at least, that the means I employ have some adaptation to the end. To my mind, Nebraska has no such adaptation.

It hath no relish of salvation in it. It is an aggravation, rather, of the only one thing which ever endangers the Union. When it came upon us, all was peace and quiet. The nation was looking to the forming of new bonds of union, and a long course of peace and prosperity seemed to lie before us. In the whole range of possibility, there scarcely appears to me to have been anything out of which the slavery agitation could have been revived, except the very project of repealing the Missouri Compromise. Every inch of territory we owned already had a definite settlement of the slavery question, by which all parties were pledged to abide. Indeed, there was no uninhabited country on the continent which we could acquire, if we except some extreme northern regions which are wholly out of the question.

In this state of affairs the Genius of Discord himself could scarcely have invented a way

of again setting us by the ears but by turning back and destroying the peace measures of the past. The counsels of that Genius seem to have prevailed. The Missouri Compromise was repealed; and here we are in the midst of a new slavery agitation, such, I think, as we have never seen before. Who is responsible for this? Is it those who resist the measure, or those who causelessly brought it forward and pressed it through, having reason to know, and in fact knowing, it must and would be so resisted? It could not but be expected by its author that it would be looked upon as a measure for the extension of slavery, aggravated by a gross breach of faith.

Argue as you will and long as you will, this is the naked front and aspect of the measure. And in this aspect it could not but produce agitation. Slavery is founded in the selfishness of man's nature—opposition to it in his love of justice. These principles are an eternal antagonism, and when brought into collision so fiercely as slavery extension brings them, shocks and throes and convulsions must ceaselessly follow. Repeal the Missouri Compromise, repeal all compromises, repeal the Declaration of Inde-

pendence, repeal all past history, you still cannot repeal human nature. It still will be the abundance of man's heart that slavery extension is wrong, and out of the abundance of his heart his mouth will continue to speak. The structure, too, of the Nebraska bill is very peculiar. The people are to decide the question of slavery for themselves; but when they are to decide, or how they are to decide, or whether, when the question is once decided, it is to remain so or is to be subject to an indefinite succession of new trials, the law does not say. Is it to be decided by the first dozen settlers who arrive there, or is it to await the arrival of a hundred? Is it to be decided by a vote of the people or a vote of the legislature, or, indeed, by a vote of any sort? To these questions the law gives no answer. There is a mystery about this; for when a member proposed to give the legislature express authority to exclude slavery, it was hooted down by the friends of the bill. This fact is worth remembering. Some Yankees in the East are sending emigrants to Nebraska to exclude slavery from it; and, so far as I can judge, they expect the question to be decided by voting in some way or

other. But the Missourians are awake, too. They are within a stone's-throw of the contested ground. They hold meetings and pass resolutions, in which not the slightest allusion to voting is made. They resolve that slavery already exists in the Territory; that more shall go there; that they, remaining in Missouri, will protect it, and that Abolitionists shall be hung or driven away. Through all this bowie-knives and six shooters are seen plainly enough, but never a glimpse of the ballot-box.

And, really, what is the result of all this? Each party within having numerous and determined backers without, is it not probable that the contest will come to blows and bloodshed? Could there be a more apt invention to bring about collision and the violence on the slavery question than this Nebraska project is? I do not charge or believe that such was intended by Congress; but if they had literally formed a ring and placed champions within it to fight out the controversy, the fight could be no more likely to come off than it is. And if this fight should begin, is it likely to take a very peaceful Union-saving turn? Will not the first drop of blood so shed be the real knell of the Union?

The Missouri Compromise ought to be restored. For the sake of the Union, it ought to be restored. We ought to elect a House of Representatives which will vote its restoration. If by any means we omit to do this, what follows? Slavery may or may not be established in Nebraska. But whether it be or not, we shall have repudiated—discarded from the councils of the nation—the spirit of compromise; for who, after this, will ever trust in a national compromise? The spirit of mutual concession—that spirit which first gave us the Constitution, and which has thrice saved the Union—we shall have strangled and cast from us forever. And what shall we have in lieu of it? The South flushed with triumph and tempted to excess; the North, betrayed as they believe, brooding on wrong and burning for revenge. One side will provoke, the other resent. The one will taunt, the other defy; one aggresses, the other retaliates. Already a few in the North defy all constitutional restraints, resist the execution of the fugitive-slave law, and even menace the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. Already a few in the South claim the constitutional right to take and to

hold slaves in the free States—demand the revival of the slave-trade—and demand a treaty with Great Britain by which fugitive slaves may be reclaimed from Canada. As yet they are but few on either side. It is a grave question for lovers of the Union, whether the final destruction of the Missouri Compromise, and with it the spirit of all compromise, will or will not embolden and embitter each of these, and fatally increase the number of both.

But restore the compromise, and what then? We thereby restore the national faith, the national confidence, the national feeling of brotherhood. We thereby reinstate the spirit of concession and compromise, that spirit which has never failed us in past perils, and which may be safely trusted for all the future. The South ought to join in doing this. The peace of the nation is as dear to them as to us. In memories of the past and hopes of the future, they share as largely as we. It would be on their part a great act—great in its spirit, and great in its effects. It would be worth to the nation a hundred year's purchase of peace and prosperity. And what of sacrifice would they make? They only surrender to us what they gave us



for a consideration long, long ago; what they have not now asked for, struggled or cared for; what has been thrust upon them, not less to their astonishment than to ours.

But it is said we cannot restore it; that though we elect every member of the lower House, the Senate is still against us. It is quite true that of the senators who passed the Nebraska bill, a majority of the whole Senate will retain their seats in spite of the elections of this and the next year. But if at these elections their several constituencies shall clearly express their will against Nebraska, will these senators disregard their will? Will they neither obey nor make room for those who will?

But even if we fail to technically restore the compromise, it is still a great point to carry a popular vote in favor of the restoration. The moral weight of such a vote cannot be estimated too highly. The authors of Nebraska are not at all satisfied with the destruction of the compromise—an indorsement of this principle they proclaim to be the great object. With them, Nebraska alone is a small matter—to establish a principle for future use is what they particularly desire.

The future use is to be the planting of slavery wherever in the wide world local and unorganized opposition cannot prevent it. Now, if you wish to give them this indorsement, if you wish to establish this principle, do so. I shall regret it, but it is your right. On the contrary, if you are opposed to the principle,—intend to give it no such indorsement,—let no wheedling, no sophistry, divert you from throwing a direct vote against it.

Some men, mostly Whigs, who condemn the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, nevertheless hesitate to go for its restoration, lest they be thrown in company with the Abolitionists. Will they allow me, as an old Whig, to tell them, good-humoredly, that I think this is very silly? Stand with anybody that stands right. Stand with him while he is right, and part with him when he goes wrong. Stand with the Abolitionist in restoring the Missouri Compromise, and stand against him when he attempts to repeal the fugitive-slave law. In the latter case you stand with the Southern disunionist. What of that? You are still right. In both cases you are right. In both cases you expose the dangerous extremes. In both you stand on middle

ground, and hold the ship level and steady. In both you are national, and nothing less than national. This is the good old Whig ground. To desert such ground because of any company, is to be less than a Whig—less than a man—less than an American.

I particularly object to the new position which the avowed principle of this Nebraska law gives to slavery in the body politic. I object to it because it assumes that there can be moral right in the enslaving of one man by another. I object to it as a dangerous dalliance for a free people—a sad evidence that, feeling prosperity, we forget right; that liberty, as a principle, we have ceased to revere. I object to it because the fathers of the republic eschewed and rejected it. The argument of “necessity” was the only argument they ever admitted in favor of slavery; and so far, and so far only, as it carried them did they ever go. They found the institution existing among us, which they could not help, and they cast blame upon the British king for having permitted its introduction. Before the Constitution they prohibited its introduction into the Northwestern Territory, the only country we owned then free from

it. At the framing and adoption of the Constitution, they forbore to so much as mention the word "slave" or "slavery" in the whole instrument. In the provision for the recovery of fugitives, the slave is spoken of as a "person held to serve or labor." In that prohibiting the abolition of the African slave-trade for twenty years, that trade is spoken of as "the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit," etc. These are the only provisions alluding to slavery. Thus the thing is hid away in the Constitution, just as an afflicted man hides away a wen or cancer which he does not cut out at once, lest he bleed to death,—with the promise, nevertheless, that the cutting may begin at a certain time. Less than this our fathers could not do, and more they would not do. Necessity drove them so far, and further they would not go. But this is not all. The earliest Congress under the Constitution took the same view of slavery. They hedged and hemmed it in to the narrowest limits of necessity.

In 1794 they prohibited an outgoing slave-trade—that is, the taking of slaves from the

United States to sell. In 1798 they prohibited the bringing of slaves from Africa into the Mississippi Territory, this Territory then comprising what are now the States of Mississippi and Alabama. This was ten years before they had the authority to do the same thing as to the States existing at the adoption of the Constitution. In 1800 they prohibited American citizens from trading in slaves between foreign countries, as, for instance from Africa to Brazil. In 1803 they passed a law in aid of one or two slave-State laws, in restraint of the internal slave-trade. In 1807, in apparent hot haste, they passed the law nearly a year in advance,—to take effect the first day of 1808, the very first day the Constitution would permit,—prohibiting the African slave-trade by heavy pecuniary and corporal penalties. In 1820, finding these provisions ineffectual, they declared the slave-trade piracy, and annexed to it the extreme penalty of death. While all this was passing in the General Government, five or six of the original slave States had adopted systems of gradual emancipation, by which the institution was rapidly becoming extinct within their limits. Thus we see that the plain, unmistakable spirit

of that age toward slavery was hostility to the principle and toleration only by necessity.

But now it is to be transformed into a "sacred right." Nebraska brings it forth, places it on the highroad to extension and perpetuity, and with a pat on its back says to it, "Go, and God speed you." Henceforth it is to be the chief jewel of the nation—the very figurehead of the ship of state. Little by little, but steadily as man's march to the grave, we have been giving up the old for the new faith. Near eighty years ago we began by declaring that all men are created equal; but now from that beginning we have run down to the other declaration, that for some men to enslave others is a "sacred right of self-government." These principles cannot stand together. They are as opposite as God and Mammon; and whoever holds to the one must despise the other. When Pettit, in connection with his support of the Nebraska bill, called the Declaration of Independence "a self-evident lie," he only did what consistency and candor require all other Nebraska men to do. Of the forty-odd Nebraska senators who sat present and heard him, no one rebuked him. Nor am I apprised that any Nebraska news-

paper, or any Nebraska orator, in the whole nation has ever yet rebuked him. If this had been said among Marion's men, Southerners though they were, what would have become of the man who said it? If this had been said to the men who captured Andre, the man who said it would probably have been hung sooner than Andre was. If it had been said in old Independence Hall seventy-eight years ago, the very doorkeeper would have throttled the man and thrust him into the street. Let no one be deceived. The spirit of seventy-six and the spirit of Nebraska are utter antagonisms; and the former is being rapidly displaced by the latter.

Fellow-countrymen, Americans, South as well as North, shall we make no effort to arrest this? Already the liberty party throughout the world express the apprehension "that the one retrograde institution in America is undermining the principles of progress, and fatally violating the noblest political system the world ever saw." This is not the taunt of enemies, but the warning of friends. Is it quite safe to disregard it—to despise it? Is there no danger to liberty itself in discarding the earliest practice and first precept of our ancient faith?

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN PEORIA 1854

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In our greedy chase to make profit of the negro, let us beware lest we "cancel and tear in pieces" even the white man's charter of freedom.

Our republican robe is soiled and trailed in the dust. Let us repurify it. Let us turn and wash it white in the spirit, if not the blood, of the Revolution. Let us turn slavery from its claims of "moral right" back upon its existing legal right and its arguments of "necessity." Let us return it to the position our fathers gave it, and there let it rest in peace. Let us readopt the Declaration of Independence, and with it the practices and policy which harmonize with it. Let North and South—let all Americans—let all lovers of liberty everywhere join in the great and good work. If we do this, we shall not only have saved the Union, but we shall have so saved it as to make and to keep it forever worthy of the saving. We shall have so saved it that the succeeding millions of free happy people, the world over, shall rise up and call us blessed to the latest generations.

At Springfield, twelve days ago, where I had spoken substantially as I have here, Judge Douglas replied to me; and as he is to reply to me here, I shall attempt to anticipate him by notic-



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ing some of the points he made there. He commenced by stating I had assumed all the way through that the principle of the Nebraska bill would have the effect of extending slavery. He denied that this was intended, or that this effect would follow.

I will not reopen the argument upon this point. That such was the intention the world believed at the start, and will continue to believe. This was the countenance of the thing, and both friends and enemies instantly recognized it as such. That countenance cannot now be changed by argument. You can as easily argue the color out of the negro's skin. Like the "bloody hand," you may wash it and wash it, the red witness of guilt still sticks and stares horribly at you.

Next he says that congressional intervention never prevented slavery anywhere; that it did not prevent it in the Northwestern Territory, nor in Illinois; that, in fact, Illinois came into the Union as a slave State; that the principle of the Nebraska bill expelled it from Illinois, from several old States, from everywhere.

Now this is more quibbling all the way through. If the ordinance of '87 did not keep

slavery out of the Northwest Territory, how happens it that the northwest shore of the Ohio River is entirely free from it, while the south-east shore, less than a mile distant, along nearly the whole length of the river, is entirely covered with it?

If that ordinance did not keep it out of Illinois, what was it that made the difference between Illinois and Missouri? They lie side by side, the Mississippi River only dividing them while their early settlements were within the same latitude. Between 1810 and 1820, the number of slaves in Missouri increased 7211, while in Illinois in the same ten years they decreased 51. This appears by the census returns. During nearly all of that ten years both were Territories, not States. During this time the ordinance forbade slavery to go into Illinois, and nothing forbade it to go into Missouri. It did go into Missouri, and did not go into Illinois. That is the fact. Can any one doubt as to the reason of it? But he says Illinois came into the Union as a slave State. Silence, perhaps, would be the best answer to this flat contradiction of the known history of the country. What are the facts upon which this

bold assertion is based? When we first acquired the country, as far back as 1787, there were some slaves within it held by the French inhabitants of Kaskaskia. The territorial legislation admitted a few negroes from the slave States as indentured servants. One year after the adoption of the first State constitution, the whole number of them was—what do you think? Just one hundred and seventeen, while the aggregate free population was 55,094,—about four hundred and seventy to one. Upon this state of facts the people framed their constitution prohibiting the further introduction of slavery, with a sort of guarantee to the owners of the few indentured servants, giving freedom to their children to be born thereafter, and making no mention whatever of any supposed slave for life. Out of this small matter the judge manufactures his argument that Illinois came into the Union as a slave State. Let the facts be the answer to the argument.

The principles of the Nebraska bill, he says, expelled slavery from Illinois. The principle of that bill first planted it here—that is, it first came because there was no law to prevent it, first came before we owned the country; and

finding it here, and having the ordinance of '87 to prevent its increasing, our people struggled along, and finally got rid of it as best they could.

But the principle of the Nebraska bill abolished slavery in several of the old States. Well, it is true that several of the old States, in the last quarter of the last century, did adopt systems of gradual emancipation by which the institution has finally become extinct within their limits; but it may or may not be true that the principle of the Nebraska bill was the cause that led to the adoption of these measures. It is now more than fifty years since the last of these States adopted its system of emancipation.

If the Nebraska bill is the real author of the benevolent works, it is rather deplorable that it has for so long a time ceased working altogether. Is there not some reason to suspect that it was the principle of the Revolution, and not the principle of the Nebraska bill, that led to emancipation in these old States? Leave it to the people of these old emancipating States, and I am quite certain they will decide that neither that nor any other good thing ever did or ever will come of the Nebraska bill.

In the course of my argument, Judge Douglas interrupted me to say that the principle of the Nebraska bill was very old; that it originated when God made man, and placed good and evil before him, allowing him to choose for himself, being responsible for the choice he should make. At the time I thought this was merely playful, and I answered it accordingly. But in his reply to me he renewed it as a serious argument. In seriousness, then, the facts of this proposition are not true as stated. God did not place good and evil before man, telling him to make his choice. On the contrary, he did tell him there was one tree of the fruit of which he should not eat, upon pain of certain death. I should scarcely wish so strong a prohibition against slavery in Nebraska.

But this argument strikes me as not a little remarkable in another particular—in its strong resemblance to the old argument for the “divine right of kings.” By the latter, the king is to do just as he pleases with his white subjects, being responsible to God alone. By the former, the white man is to do just as he pleases with his black slaves, being responsible to God alone. The two things are precisely alike, and it is but

natural that they should find similar arguments to sustain them.

I had argued that the application of the principle of self-government, as contended for, would require the revival of the African slave-trade; that no argument could be made in favor of a man's right to take slaves to Nebraska, which could not be equally well made in favor of his right to bring them from the coast of Africa. The judge replied that the Constitution requires the suppression of the foreign slave-trade, but does not require the prohibition of slavery in the Territories. That is a mistake in point of fact. The Constitution does not require the action of Congress in either case, and it does authorize it in both. And so there is still no difference between the cases.

In regard to what I have said of the advantage the slave States have over the free in the matter of representation, the judge replied that we in the free States count five free negroes as five white people, while in the slave States they count five slaves as three whites only; and that the advantage, at last, was on the side of the free States.

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Now, in the slave States they count free negroes just as we do; and it so happens that besides their slaves, they have as many free negroes as we have, and thirty thousand over. Thus, their free negroes more than balance ours; and their advantage over us, in consequence of their slaves, still remains as I stated it.

In reply to my argument that the compromise measure of 1850 were a system of equivalents, and that the provisions of no one of them could fairly be carried to other subjects without its corresponding equivalent being carried with it, the judge denied outright that these measures had any connection with or dependence upon each other. This is mere desperation. If they had no connection, why are they always spoken of in connection? Why has he so spoken of them a thousand times? Why has he constantly called them a series of measures? Why does everybody call them a compromise? Why was California kept out of the Union six or seven months, if it was not because of its connection with the other measures? Webster's leading definition of the verb "to compromise" is "to adjust and settle a difference, by mutual agreement, with concessions of claims by the

parties.” This conveys precisely the popular understanding of the word “compromise.”

We knew, before the judge told us, that these measures passed separately, and in distinct bills, and that no two of them were passed by the votes of precisely the same members. But we also know, and so does he know, that no one of them could have passed both branches of Congress but for the understanding that the others were to pass also. Upon this understanding, each got votes which it could have got in no other way. It is this fact which gives to the measures their true character; and it is the universal knowledge of this fact that has given them the name of “compromise,” so expressive of that true character.

I had asked “if, in carrying the Utah and New Mexico laws to Nebraska, you could clear away other objection, but could you leave Nebraska ‘perfectly free’ to introduce slavery before she forms a constitution during her territorial government, while the Utah and New Mexico laws only authorize it when they form constitutions and are admitted into the Union?” To this Judge Douglas answered that the Utah and New Mexico laws also authorized it be-



fore; and to prove this he read from one of their laws, as follows: "That the legislative power of said territory shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation, consistent with the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of this act."

Now it is perceived from the reading of this that there is nothing express upon the subject, but that the authority is sought to be implied merely for the general provision of "all rightful subjects of legislation." In reply to this I insist, as a legal rule of construction, as well as the plain, popular view of the matter, that the express provisions for Utah and New Mexico coming in with slavery, if they choose, when they shall form constitutions, is an exclusion of all implied authority on the same subject; that Congress, having the subject distinctly in their minds when they made the express provision, they therein expressed their whole meaning on that subject.

The judge rather insinuated that I had found it convenient to forget the Washington territorial law passed in 1853. This was a division of Oregon organizing the northern part as the Territory of Washington. He asserted that by

this act the ordinance of '87, theretofore existing in Oregon, was repealed; that nearly all the members of Congress voted for it, beginning in the House of Representatives with Charles Allen of Massachusetts, and ending with Richard Yates of Illinois; and that he could not understand how those who now oppose the Nebraska bill so voted there, unless it was because it was then too soon after both the great political parties had ratified the compromises of 1850, and the ratification therefore was too fresh to be then repudiated.

Now I had seen the Washington act before, and I have carefully examined it since; and I aver that there is no repeal of the ordinance of '87, or of any prohibition of slavery, in it. In express terms, there is absolutely nothing in the whole law upon the subject—in fact, nothing to lead a reader to think of the subject. To my judgment it is equally free from everything from which repeal can be legally implied; but however this may be, are men now to be entrapped by a legal implication, extracted from covert language, introduced perhaps for the very purpose of entrapping them? I sincerely wish every man could read this law quite through,

carefully watching every sentence and every line for a repeal of the ordinance of '87, or anything equivalent to it.

Another point on the Washington act. If it was intended to be modeled after the Utah and New Mexico acts, as Judge Douglas insists, why was it not inserted in it, as in them, that Washington was to come in with or without slavery as she may choose at the adoption of her constitution? It has no such provision in it; and I defy the ingenuity of a man to give a reason for the omission, other than that it was not intended to follow the Utah and New Mexico laws in regard to the question of slavery.

The Washington act not only differs vitally from the Utah and New Mexico acts, but the Nebraska act differs vitally from both. By the latter act the people are left "perfectly free" to regulate their own domestic concerns, etc.; but in all the former, all their laws are to be submitted to Congress, and if disapproved are to be null. The Washington act goes even further; it absolutely prohibits the territorial legislature, by very strong and guarded language, from establishing banks or borrowing money on the faith of the Territory. Is this the sacred right

of self-government we hear vaunted so much? No sir; the Nebraska bill finds no model in the act of '50 or the Washington act. It finds no model in any law from Adam till today. As Phillips says of Napoleon, the Nebraska act is grand, gloomy and peculiar, wrapped in the solitude of its own originality, without a model and without a shadow upon the earth.

In the course of his reply Senator Douglas remarked in substance that he had always considered this government was made for the white people and not for the negroes. Why, in point of mere fact, I think so too. But in this remark of the judge there is a significance which I think is the key to the great mistake (if there is any such mistake) which he has made in this Nebraska measure. It shows that the judge has no very vivid impression that the negro is human, and consequently has no idea that there can be any moral question in legislating about him. In his view the question of whether a new country shall be slave or free, is a matter of as utter indifference as it is whether his neighbor shall plant his farm with tobacco or stock it with horned cattle. Now, whether this view is right or wrong, it is very certain that the great

mass of mankind take a totally different view. They consider slavery a great moral wrong, and their feeling against it is not evanescent, but eternal. It lies at the very foundation of their sense of justice, and it cannot be trifled with. It is a great and durable element of popular action, and I think no statesman can safely disregard it.

Our Senator also objects that those who oppose him in this matter do not entirely agree with one another. He reminds me that in my firm adherence to the constitutional rights of the slave States, I differ widely from others who are co-operating with me in opposing the Nebraska bill, and he says it is not quite fair to oppose him in this variety of ways. He should remember that he took us by surprise—astounded us by this measure. We were thunderstruck and stunned, and we reeled and fell in utter confusion. But we rose, each fighting, grasping whatever he could first reach—a scythe, a pitchfork, a chopping ax, or a butcher's cleaver. We struck in the direction of the sound, and we were rapidly closing in upon him. He must not think to divert us from our purpose by showing us that our drill, our dress, and our weapons

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are not entirely perfect and uniform. When the storm shall be past he shall find us still Americans, no less devoted to the continued union and prosperity of the country than heretofore.

# LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS

## THE PEORIA DEBATES and LINCOLN'S POWER

A Broadside Published 1866 by Wm. H. Herndon,  
of Springfield, Ill., Lincoln's Law Partner

The writer of this has been placed wrongly on a particular record. The work to which allusion is made is a Biography of Mr. Lincoln, written and published in Springfield, Mass. I have hitherto abstained from exposing the mistake, first, because I thought it might injure the sale of the Biography, and second, because I knew the people would soon see the error. It is now time to speak. The facts are both interesting and important; they show Douglas opinion of the strength of Mr. Lincoln; they show the goodness of Mr. Lincoln, and they explain an event of interest. Hence I assert that the facts are interesting and important, and should therefore be known, in justice to all.

Now for the facts. Senator Douglas made a speech in the city of Springfield, Illinois, in

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1854. It was delivered to a large and intelligent audience in the Hall of the House of Representatives, October 4th, 1854; it was in the day time, and during the State Fair. Mr. Lincoln was present at the speech, heard it attentively, took notes, and prepared himself to answer it the next day. The next day—say at one o'clock P. M., Mr. Lincoln made his appearance in the same hall and then and there spoke to a similar audience—equal in number and intelligence.—Senator Douglas spoke for about two and one half hours the day before. Mr. Lincoln spoke on the 5th day of October about three and one half hours. Much enthusiasm prevailed at the time of these speeches. Senator Douglas replied to Mr. Lincoln on the same day and to the same audience. Douglas in reply spoke eloquently and energetically for about one hour. Senator Douglas at that time had a published list of appointments—say commencing at Springfield, October 4th, at Peoria, October the 16th, at Lacon on the 17th, at Princeton on the 18th, and at Aurora on the 19th. Mr. Lincoln's friends asked—nay actually petitioned Mr. Lincoln, praying that he would follow Douglas and answer him when-



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ever and wherever he spoke. Douglas did go to Peoria to fill his appointments: he spoke in Peoria according to published notice on the 16th of October 1854.—Mr. Lincoln did follow Senator Douglas to Peoria and did hear him speak—did take notes—did arrange them, and did answer Senator Douglas, say at 7 o'clock in the evening of that day in the same house. Senator Douglas I presume was present. Senator Douglas replied, as at the Hall of the House of Representatives in Springfield, he concluding both debates. It was the fixed determination of Mr. Lincoln to follow Senator Douglas to his appointments, and to the end. He had made full preparations to go to Lacon, Princeton and Aurora, as well as elsewhere.

After the debate was over Senator Douglas, probably on October the 17th, sent for Mr. Lincoln at Peoria or on the way to Lacon. Mr. Lincoln did go and see Senator Douglas: they had a private conversation about the speeches that were to be made. Senator Douglas at that meeting said to Mr. Lincoln substantially, if not in words, this: "Mr. Lincoln, you have made me more trouble on this Territorial question, and the facts and laws of their organiza-

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tion, with intents and purposes, in the government, since its organization than all the members of the Senate of the United States. You know what trouble they have given me. You have given me more trouble than all the opposition. I now propose this to you: If you will go home, and make no more speeches at my appointments I will go to no more of my published places of speaking, and remain silent. I can make nothing off you, and you can't off me. "Your will be done, Senator Douglas: I don't wish to crowd you," replied Mr. Lincoln. Douglas' remaining published places were Lacon, Princeton, and Aurora. Senator Douglas did go to Lacon. Lincoln did follow. Senator Douglas made some excuse to his friends at this place that his throat was sore. Mr. Lincoln said he would take no advantage of Senator Douglas' situation.

The two great men then understood each other, and Lincoln in kindness and nobleness never insinuated what was the matter, nor did he crowd Senator Douglas. Mr. Lincoln made his promises in good faith and really kept them to the end, inviolate in fact and spirit. Mr. Lincoln returned to his home in the city of

Springfield, Illinois, about the 19th of October, 1854. He remained in this city till the election was over, making no more speeches, I say, during that canvass. Several of Mr. Lincoln's friends met him in his office some days after the 19th of October. Some of these men were the original petitioners spoken of before. These men, or some of them are as follows: Peyton L. Harrison, Ben'j. F. Irwin—a petitioner—Isaac Cogdall, and myself. Mr. Irwin probably asked him why he did not follow Senator Douglas, as he had promised to do as understood. This placed Mr. Lincoln in a dilemma; his word was out to follow and answer Senator Douglas and the petitioner asked him why he did not follow. Mr. Lincoln after a few minutes' reflection then told the reasons, enjoining privacy on all as above given; he good naturedly said in mitigation or excuse: "Senator Douglas flattered me into the arrangement, and you must not blame me."

A few months—say one or two months—after Mr. Lincoln's assassination, a gentleman from Springfield, Mass., came into my office and presented me with a letter of introduction from a friend in Chicago, as my memory serves

me. Probably the letter was from my friend, Horace White, of the *Chicago Tribune*. The New England gentleman—a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society—was informed probably at Chicago that I was writing an analytical life of Mr. Lincoln: he was so informed in this city. He made known his business and asked me several questions—none of which did I object to—was really desirous of helping the gentleman, and so told him. I answered the questions quickly, frankly and truthfully; he was with me taking notes for parts of two days. I told him many things, without being asked, it may be. I quit my business, dropped my professional duties for those parts of days, in order to accommodate and assist the man. He got from me what I think valuable; he evidently thought so, because he used it in the Biography, with Mr. Lincoln's strong, gnarly sentences toned down, in some instances, to suit an over-refined, distorted taste, as I think. The *Massachusetts* gentleman goes back to his home in the East, sits down in his office, and pens the following lines, at pages 141 and 142, speaking of the Peoria debate and what I told him:

“At the close of the debate, the two combatants held a conference, and the result of which has been variously reported. *One* authority\* (\*William H. Herndon, in a foot note,) states that Mr. Douglas sent for Mr. Lincoln, and told him that if he would speak no more during *the campaign*, he (Douglas) would go home and remain silent during the same period, and that this arrangement was agreed upon, and its terms fulfilled. That there *was* a conference on the subjects sought, there is *no* doubt, and there is *no* doubt that Mr. Lincoln promised not to challenge him again to debate, during the canvass, *but abundant evidence exists that Mr. Lincoln did not leave the field at all*, but spoke in various parts of the State.”

I am not objecting to the manner of his statement, though that is not correct. I am not raising any objection on that issue. Let it stand as it is. I have *italicized* some words which are not in the original. Here is a direct assertion, on my part, that Mr. Lincoln said as above stated by me. I did make the assertion as I state it. Here in the book, in the sentence quoted, is a denial of what I said, and now repeat. Would it not have been quite

gentlemanly for the man to have given me a chance to correct the error, by informing me of it by letter, or otherwise? If he did not choose so to do, would it not have been quite gentlemanly to have left my name out, as the author of the story, or even a part of it? There is an allegation that after the 16th of October, 1854, and after Mr. Lincoln's agreement with Senator Douglas, that Mr. Lincoln, during the canvass of that year, did on various occasions and places address the people of Illinois on the questions of the day. One of *three* things is true: First, I told a lie; second, that Mr. Lincoln acted in bad faith—broke his sacred honor by addressing the people after the 16th of October; or, *third* that the gentleman has no abundant evidence to prove that Mr. Lincoln, after that 16th day, did speak “in various parts of the State.” But suppose that Mr. Lincoln and myself are correct, *then what?* Let me state a fact here, by way of note as it were. It is said to me, on what I consider good authority, that Senator Douglas did speak at Princeton, on the 18th day of October, contrary to his agreement with Mr. Lincoln. I regret to learn this, and leave an explanation to come from Senator Douglas’

friend, who should, for his credit, investigate the matter thoroughly and well. Senator Douglas may have been driven to this by the people—the Democrats and Republicans at that place and time; or he may have been bantered into it by the Republicans, who had then and there an eloquent champion on the spot, ready and anxious to answer Senator Douglas. The gentleman here spoken of, or alluded to, was the Hon. Owen Lovejoy. There is some excuse, some explanation, some probable cause why Senator Douglas spoke at Princeton, somewhere, and it can be found out.

Now, as to that abundant evidence, let us see. Mr. Lincoln returned to his home in this city about the 19th day of October—three days after the Peoria debate; he sat down and here commenced writing out, as rapidly as he could, his Peoria speech, which, in substance, is the Springfield speech, with the fire died out, made October the 5th; he was a candidate for the State Legislature at that time, probably against his will. The Sangamon Circuit Court was coming on apace and he must turn some of his attention to these things. The first part of Mr. Lincoln's speech appears in the *Illinois Daily*

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*Journal*—now called—October 21st. The entire speech runs through *seven* numbers of the *Daily Journal*. Mr. Lincoln was at home, writing out and correcting the proof sheets of his speech. I well know, well remember this. I so assert this now. The full speech as written out by Mr. Lincoln, first appeared as it now stands in the *Weekly Journal*, Nov. the 2d, 1854, No. 1, 213. The November election, by the Constitution and laws of the State of Illinois, took place—came off, on the 7th day of November, 1854. There are *five days* between the 2d of November and the 7th. Will some gentleman show, procure that abundant evidence spoken of? Will some good man show that Mr. Lincoln made, after the 16th of October, various speeches to the people of Illinois, during the canvass of that year? Will some searching, inquiring mind show *any* evidence by the *record* that Mr. Lincoln spoke at all after the day agreed upon between Senator Douglas and himself? I aver that there is no such abundant evidence of record, nor other well authenticated evidence anywhere. No man can show that Mr. Lincoln violated his sacred honor. No man can show that Mr. Lincoln ever addressed the people after



his promise. I aver that he told me—rather told Ben'j F. Irwin, Peyton L. Harrison, Isaac Cogdall and myself, that he had made the agreement with Senator Douglas substantially as I state it. Men may carelessly, loosely say that Mr. Lincoln did violate his honor, by saying that he did speak contrary to the above agreement. For Mr. Lincoln's sake, and for my own sake, I appeal to, and ask for the record, or any other valid, reliable evidence. If I assert, as I do, these things, I wilfully tell falsehood; and I ought to have no quarter, and *because* of that I ask for none.

Feeling that I have been badly treated, and misplaced, as it were, wantonly, on the record, I am compelled in self defense to publish this letter. It is probable that the Biographer would, in another edition of the work correct the error, but I know of no law compelling me to wait for that contingency. The publication of this letter cannot injure the sale of his life of Mr. Lincoln.

Truly yours,

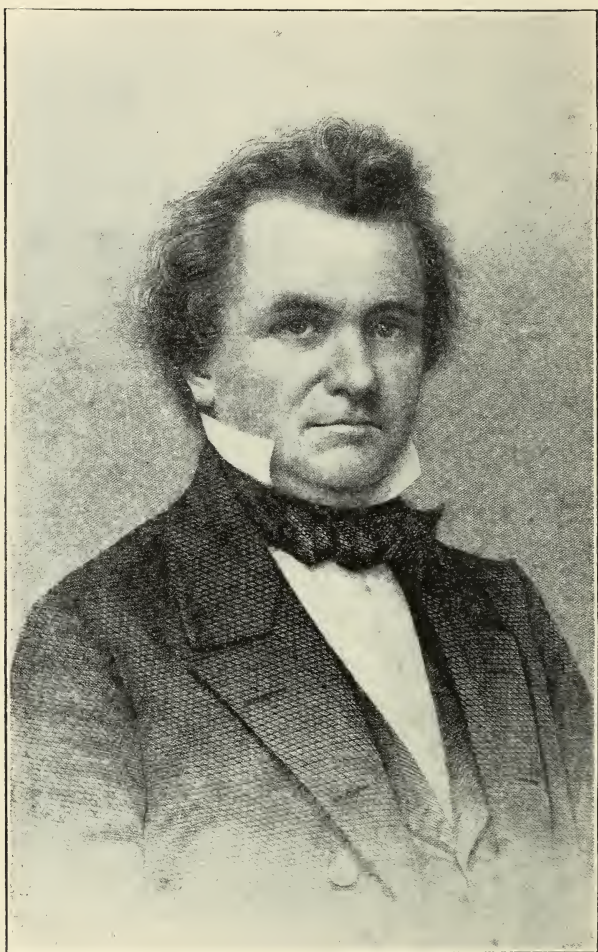
W. H. HERNDON.

## CHAPTER SIX

Nicolay and Hay in their *Life of Lincoln* speak of the encounter of Judge Douglas and Lincoln at the Illinois State Fair at Springfield, as a debate. This is hardly correct, as State Fair Week was an occasion when speakers from all parts presented their views and was followed at this time—Lincoln and Douglas speaking upon different days.

Their account of the Peoria meeting and comments upon Lincoln's speech are of so much interest that I venture to here reproduce what they have to say. (Vol. 1, Page 378, "Abraham Lincoln, Nicolay and Hay.")

"Douglas made his speech, according to notice, on the first day of the fair, Tuesday, October 3. 'I will mention,' said he, 'in his opening remarks, 'that it is understood by some gentlemen that Mr. Lincoln, of this city, is expected to answer me. If this is the understanding, I wish that Mr. Lincoln would step forward and let us arrange some plan upon which to carry out this discussion.' Mr. Lincoln was not there at the moment, and the arrangement could not then be made. Unpropitious weather had



SENATOR STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

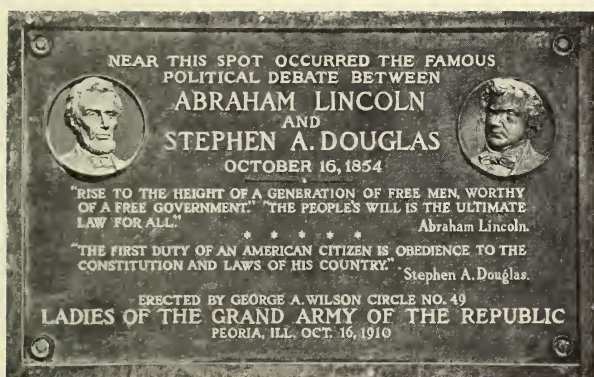
“The first duty of an American citizen is obedience to the Constitution and Laws of his Country.”

—*Stephen A. Douglas.*

brought the meeting to the Representatives' Hall in the State House, which was densely packed. The next day found the same hall filled as before to hear Mr. Lincoln. Douglas occupied a seat just in front of him, and in his rejoinder he explained that 'my friend Mr. Lincoln expressly invited me to stay and hear him speak today, as he heard me yesterday, and to answer and defend myself as best I could. I here thank him for his courteous offer.' The occasion greatly equalized the relative standing of the champions. The familiar surroundings, the presence and hearty encouragement of his friends, put Lincoln in his best vein. His bubbling humor, his perfect temper, and above all the overwhelming current of his historical arraignment extorted the admiration of even his political enemies. 'His speech was four hours in length,' wrote one of these, 'and was conceived and expressed in a most happy and pleasant style, and was received with abundant applause. At times he made statements which brought Senator Douglas to his feet, and then good-humored passages of wit created much interest and enthusiasm.' All reports plainly indicate that Douglas was astonished and disconcerted at this unexpected strength of argument, and that he struggled vainly through

a two hours' rejoinder to break the force of Lincoln's victory in the debate. Lincoln had hitherto been the foremost man in his district. That single effort made him the leader on the new question in his State.

"The fame of this success brought Lincoln urgent calls from all the places where Douglas was expected to speak. Accordingly, twelve days afterwards, October 16, they once more met in debate, at Peoria. Lincoln, as before, gave Douglas the opening and closing speeches, explaining that he was willing to yield this advantage in order to secure a hearing from the Democratic portion of his listeners. The audience was a large one, but not so representative in its character as that at Springfield. The occasion was made memorable, however, by the fact that when Lincoln returned home he wrote out and published his speech. We have therefore the revised text of his argument, and are able to estimate its character and value. Marking as it does with unmistakable precision a step in the second period of his intellectual development, it deserves the careful attention of the student of his life.



BRONZE PLATE ON THE PRESENT PEORIA COUNTY  
COURT HOUSE.

“After the lapse of more than a quarter of a century the critical reader still finds it a model of brevity, directness, terse diction, exact and lucid historical statement, and full of logical propositions so short and so strong as to resemble mathematical axioms. Above all it is pre-  
vaded by an elevation of thought and aim that lifts it out of the commonplace of mere party controversy. Comparing it with his later speeches, we find it to contain not only the argument of the hour, but the premonition of the broader issues into which the new struggle was destined soon to expand.

“The main, broad current of his reasoning was to vindicate and restore the policy of the fathers of the country in the restriction of slavery; but running through this like a thread of gold was the demonstration of the essential injustice and immorality of the system. He said:

“This declared indifference but, as I must think, covert zeal for the spread of slavery, I cannot but hate. I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world; enables the enemies of free institutions with plausibility to taunt us as hypocrites; causes the real friends of freedom



to doubt our sincerity; and especially because it forces so many really good men among ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty, criticizing the Declaration of Independence and insisting that there is no right principle of action but self interest.

“The doctrine of self-government is right,—absolutely and eternally right,—but it has no just application as here attempted. Or perhaps I should rather say that whether it has such just application, depends upon whether a negro is not, or is, a man. If he is not a man, in that case he who is a man may as a matter of self-government do just what he pleases with him. But if the negro is a man, is it not to that extent a total destruction of self-government to say that he too shall not govern himself? When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism.

“What I do say is, that no man is good enough to govern another man without that other’s consent.

“The master not only governs the slave without his consent, but he governs him by a set of



rules altogether different from those which he prescribes for himself. Allow all the governed an equal voice in the government; that, and that only, is self-government.

“Slavery is founded in the selfishness of man’s nature—opposition to it, in his love of justice. These principles are an eternal antagonism; and when brought into collision so fiercely as slavery extension brings them, shocks and throes and convulsions must ceaselessly follow. Repeal the Missouri Compromise—repeal all compromise—repeal the Declaration of Independence—repeal all past history—still you cannot repeal human nature.

“I particularly object to the new position which the avowed principle of this Nebraska law gives to slavery in the body politic. I object to it because it assumes that there can be moral right in the enslaving of one man by another. I object to it as a dangerous dalliance for a free people,—a sad evidence that feeling prosperity, we forget right,—that liberty as a principle we have ceased to revere.

“Little by little, but steadily as man’s march to the grave, we have been giving up the old for the new faith. Near eighty years ago we

began by declaring that all men are created equal; but now from that beginning we have run down to the other declaration that for some men to enslave others is a 'sacred right of self-government.' These principles cannot stand together. They are as opposite as God and mammon.

"Our Republican robe is soiled and trailed in the dust. Let us repurify it. Let us turn and wash it white, in the spirit if not the blood of the Revolution. Let us turn slavery from its claims of 'Moral right' back upon its existing legal rights, and its arguments of 'necessity.' Let us return it to the position our fathers gave it, and there let it rest in peace. Let us readopt the Declaration of Independence, and the practices and policy which harmonize with it. Let North and South—let all Americans—let all lovers of liberty everywhere—join in the great and good work. If we do this, we shall not only have saved the Union, but we shall have so saved it, as to make and to keep it forever worthy of the saving. We shall have so saved it that the succeeding millions of free, happy people, the world over, shall rise up and call us blessed to the latest generations."

## CHAPTER SEVEN

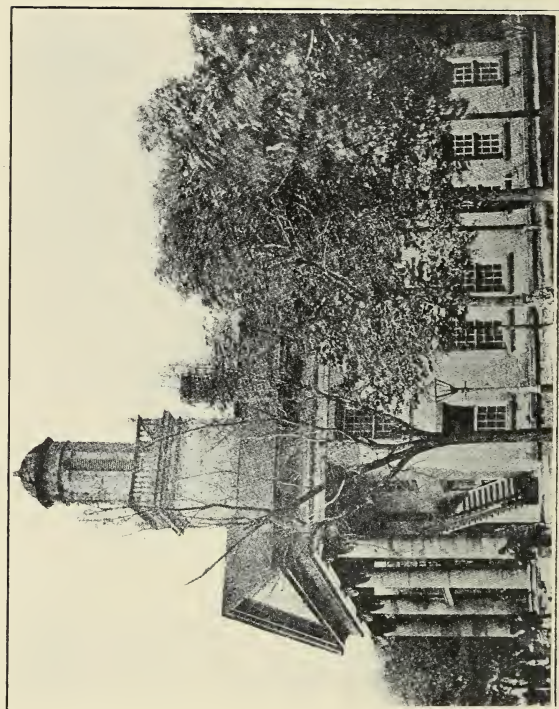
These recollections of my boyhood days are as pictures of the old masters whose colors remain vivid through all the years. No words of mine can better describe what memory recalls of those stirring days, than the following from the pen of the special correspondent of the New York Post written four years after Lincoln and Douglas met in Peoria:

“It is astonishing how deep an interest in politics this people take. Over long weary miles of hot and dusty prairie the processions of eager partisans come—on foot, on horseback, in wagons drawn by horses or mules; men, women and children, old and young; the half sick, just out of the last ‘shake’; children in arms, infants at the maternal fount, pushing on in clouds of dust and beneath the blazing sun; settling down at the town where the meeting is, with hardly a chance for sitting, and even less opportunity for eating, waiting in anxious groups for hours at the places of speaking, talking, discussing, litigious, vociferous, while the war artillery, the music of the bands, the waving of banners, the

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN PEORIA 1854

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huzzahs of the crowds, as delegation after delegation appears; the cry of the peddlers vending all sorts of ware, from an infallible cure of 'agur' to a monster watermelon in slices to suit purchasers—combine to render the occasion one scene of confusion and commotion. The hour of one arrives and a perfect rush is made for the grounds; a column of dust is rising to the heavens and fairly deluging those who are hurrying on through it. Then the speakers come with flags, and banners, and music, surrounded by cheering partisans. Their arrival at the ground and immediate approach to the stand is the signal for shouts that rend the heavens. They are introduced to the audience amidst prolonged and enthusiastic cheers; they are interrupted by frequent applause; and they sit down finally amid the same uproarous demonstration. The audience sit or stand patiently throughout, and, as the last word is spoken, make a break for their homes, first hunting up lost members of their families, getting their scattered wagonloads together, and, as the daylight fades away, entering again upon the broad prairies and slowly picking their way back to the place of beginning."



PEORIA COUNTY COURT HOUSE AT THE TIME OF THE  
LINCOLN ADDRESS, OCTOBER 16, 1854

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN PEORIA 1854

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In 1854 the old Court House stood in the same place as the present one. From the north corner of the square extending to the foot of the bluff and running through where now stands the Woman's Club House, was an avenue of locust trees fragrant in blossom time. Around the square were hitching racks to which were tied horses and mules attached to vehicles of every description—delegations arriving were preceded by floats. Usually there was one containing Miss Columbia, surrounded by young ladies in white, wearing sashes upon which were lettered the names of the States represented. I recall my mother entertaining one such, and improvising for them beds upon the floor. To cook for thirty or forty was no trick for the efficient housewife of those days. Flags were almost invariably mounted upon saplings with a bunch of leaves at the top. At night illuminations glowed from candles set in rows in windows. It is all a glorious memory.

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We regret that we have been unable to procure any part of the address of Senator Douglas on this occasion.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

It will be noted that the writer has taken for his text—"I saw and heard Lincoln and Douglas when a boy." This only! Variety may lead me far afield in striving to impart a personal touch to my sketch, but I have found that children enjoy those stories most to which one adds a relationship. No matter how remote, and what are we all but grown up children—robbed of their bloom and touched with the canker of egotistic wisdom. For wisdom is the name we give our knowledge of evil, whereas, true wisdom dwells only in the innocence of childhood. Probably no one stood higher in the esteem and confidence of Lincoln, than Colonel Alexander K. McClure, whose first wife was a cousin of my father.

The following is an account of Colonel McClure:

Colonel Alexander K. McClure, the editorial director of the Philadelphia Times, which he founded in 1875, began his forceful career as a tanner's apprentice in the mountains of Pennsylvania three score years ago. He tanned hides all day, and read exchanges nights in the neigh-

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN PEORIA 1854

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boring weekly newspaper office. The learned tanner's boy also became the aptest tanner in the county, and the editor testified his admiration for young McClure's attainments by sending him to edit a new weekly paper which the exigencies of politics called into being in an adjoining county.

The lad was over six feet high, had the thews of Ajax and the voice of Boanerges, and knew enough about shoe-leather not to be afraid of any man that stood in it. He made his paper a success, went into politics, and made that a success, studied law with William McLellan, and made that a success, and actually went into the army—and made that a success, by an interesting accident, which brought him into close personal relations with Abraham Lincoln, whom he had helped to nominate, serving as chairman of the Republican State Committee of Pennsylvania through the campaign.

In 1862 the government needed troops badly, and in each Pennsylvania county Republicans and Democrats were appointed to assist in the enrollment, under the State laws. McClure, working day and night at Harrisburg, saw conscripts coming in at the rate of a thousand a



day, only to fret in idleness against the army red-tape which held them there instead of sending a regiment a day to the front, as McClure demanded should be done. The military officer continued to dispatch two companies a day—leaving the mass of the conscripts to be fed by the contractors.

McClure went to Washington and said to the President, "You must send a mustering officer to Harrisburg who will do as I say; I can't stay there any longer under existing conditions."

Lincoln sent into another room for Adjutant-General Thomas. "General," said he, "what is the highest rank of military officer at Harrisburg?" "Captain, sir," said Thomas. "Bring me a commission for an Assistant Adjutant-General of the United States Army," said Lincoln.

So Adjutant-General McClure was mustered in, and after that a regiment a day of boys in blue left Harrisburg for the front. Colonel McClure is one of the group of great Celtic-American editors, which included Medill, McCullagh and McLean.

Long after the war Colonel McClure collected and published a book of Lincoln stories—"Lincoln's Own Yarns and Stories."—This one interested me:

"HOW HE GOT BLACKSTONE"

The following story was told by Mr. Lincoln to Mr. A. J. Conant, the artist, who painted his portrait in Springfield in 1860:

"One day a man who was migrating to the West drove up in front of my store with a wagon which contained his family and household plunder. He asked me if I would buy an old barrel for which he had no room in his wagon, and which he said contained nothing of special value. I did not want it, but to oblige him I bought it, and paid him, I think, half a dollar for it. Without further examination, I put it away in the store and forgot all about it. Some time after, in overhauling things, I came upon the barrel, and, emptying it upon the floor to see what it contained, I found at the bottom of the rubbish a complete edition of Blackstone's Commentaries. I began to read those famous works, and I had plenty of time; for during the long summer days, when the

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN PEORIA 1854

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farmers were busy with their crops, my customers were few and far between. The more I read"—this he said with unusual emphasis—"the more intensely interested I became. Never in my whole life was my mind so thoroughly absorbed. I read until I devoured them."

Grant Wright is an artist—a Peoria boy—with a studio in New York. Some time ago he sent me a "leaf from my sketch book"—It is a pencil portrait of Conant—then in his 94th year. (A photograph of the original is shown on another page.) The sketch was made November 12th, 1914. Below the picture Grant has written "Dear Cloyd: On the opposite side is a little talk I had with this grand old man of the Art World just before he died. He painted from life the only smiling Lincoln—The portrait is now in the Phillipsie Manor Yonkers. I also record the reporter's story of the New York Herald two years before." On the back of the leaf he writes, as follows:

"Mr. Conant passes his declining years with his daughter, Mrs. Smith. His portrait of General Anderson whom he esteemed very highly we worked on with great zeal and a study for

[illegible]

He told me of the first visit to Mr. of his call on H. C. J. in 1841, how the cause  
 forwarded to great him and how he invited him to sit down by his side while  
 he worked, which was then on a platform of B. & O. H. C. J. how he questioned Mr. C. J.  
 and what he had seen during the course of his life of his character when he said.



Jasper Conant

Dear Claud on the opposite  
side is a little talk I  
had with this grand old  
man of the art world  
just before he died.

He painted the only smiling Lincoln.  
The portrait is now in Phillips Manor  
Yorkers

I also record the reporter's story of the  
NY Herald 2 years before  
his name

the close friend of  
Abraham Lincoln

who painted the standing portrait of him  
from life



A. Page from my drawing book

Dear B.C. - Eight years ago I made this sketch in this grand old man's studio (64 W 10th St) a building devoted to the welfare of what we call the ancient and ~~honorable~~ honorables in the 1st ward - The building is full of pictures of past masters in the arts who had passed the 35 score and ten and were yet of progressive and productive. Thus Wood - Edward Gay - Seymour Gay - Wm H. Chase and one time had their studios here - this to describe the old 10th St studio building - In 1916 the old gentleman passed to the great beyond (96 years old) He was one of the most lovable characters one of the grandest men and his relation with past history made him mighty interesting. He had in his studio Ben Anderson's picture and of course the smiling face of Lincoln whom he loved to talk about. He told me how Lincoln described to him one of his forensic spars with Douglas how Douglas had accused him of everything from being a failure to a disloyalist. "He comes to you after voting in Congress to withhold supplies from our soldiers in Mexico - said Douglas - because he was opposed to the Mexican war. This man who has made a failure at everything he has undertaken he was a failure as a farmer as a surveyor as a lawyer as a soldier yes and as a saloon keeper - he couldn't make a living a decent one selling rum and now he comes to you asking for my seat in the senate - Then said Here old man Conant told me Lincoln chuckled like a school boy - I then said Lincoln it was my turn" I thanked Judge Douglas for having such an accurate biography of me - he covers my pedigree about as well as any one could but about my role on the Mexican affair - here is Judge Fithian or Filler who is a democratic colleague of Douglas let him say and I brought Fithian right out of the audience brought him up on the platform and made him admit that I was NOT in Congress when the question of appropriation for the soldiers was voted on. Then said Mr Conant - Lincoln chuckled again. I said yes Judge Douglas certainly covered me pretty close - I was a failure as a politician - I was a failure as a lawyer - I was a failure as a surveyor - I was a failure as a barkeeper that when I was on one side of the bar in his castigation of me as a barkeeper that when I was on one side of the bar he was a swag on the other. This brought down the house and Judge Douglas laughed off the platform.

He told me of his first visit to W of his call on Henry D. Mann how he came forward to greet him and how he invited him to sit down by his side while he worked which was then on a portrait of Bishop Hughes how he questioned Mr Conant then a boy about what he had been doing around town. I told him I had been up to see Mr Coleman est. of pictures when he said what did you think of them? being in the first flock of young and enthusiastic I told him I was enraptured over them. He said not that all forgeries and from that time on I made up my mind I would make a more thorough investigation and go deeper into them before commencing. It is, I mean and his studio on Broadway and was working on a portrait of or had just finished a portrait of (Bishop Anderson) Mr Conant passed his declining years with his daughter Mrs Smith his portrait of Genl Anderson of whom he esteemed very highly. we worked on with great zeal and a study for perfect detail as to surroundings drawers etc. common carriage. This was the grand old man who said to me a farewell. N.Y. Herald - 1912

A. Page from my drawing book

Dear B.C. - Eight years ago I made this sketch in this grand old studio (57 W 10th St) a building 'devoted to the welfare of what we call the ancient and ~~new~~ honoreables in the art world - The building is full of studio of painters in the city who had passed the 3 score and ten and were yet progressive and productive. There would - caused say - degenerate. With it I placed one thing, had there studio there - to be desirable! The old 10th St studio building - In 1916 the old gentleman passed to the great beyond (96 years old) He was one of the most lovable characters one of the grandest men and his rebellion with past history made him mighty interesting. He had in his studio even enormous picture and of course the smiling face of Ruessler before he loved to talk about it. He told me first - Ruessler described to him one of his former shows with Douglas. He told me Douglas had accused him of everything from being a failure to a dishonesty how Douglas had accused him - Congress to withhold supplies from our soldiers. He comes to you after retiring in Congress because he was opposed to the Mexican war in Mexico - and Douglas had made a failure at everything he has undertaken he





## ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN PEORIA 1854

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perfect detail as to surroundings, drapery, etc.,—cannon, carriage, flag backers—the grand old man always bids one a farewell. N. Y. Herald 1912.”

“Dear B. C.:

“Eight years ago I made this sketch in this grand old man’s studio (59 W. 10th St.) a building devoted to the welfare of what we call the ancient and honorables in the Art World. The building is full of studios of past masters in the Arts who had passed the Three Score and ten, and were yet progressive and productive. Thos. Wood, Edward Gay, Seymour Guy, Wm. M. Chase, at one time had their studios there—this to describe the old 10th St. Studio Building. In 1916 the old gentleman passed to the great beyond (96 years old.) He was one of the most lovable characters—one of the grandest men, and his relation with past history made him mighty interesting. He had in his studio Gen. Anderson’s picture, and, of course the smiling face of Lincoln whom he loved to talk about. He told me how Lincoln described to him one of his forensic spars with Douglas—how Douglas had accused him of everything from being a failure

to a disloyalist. 'He comes to you after voting in Congress to withdraw supplies from our soldiers in Mexico'—said Douglas, 'because he was opposed to the Mexican war. This man who has made a failure at everything he has undertaken: he was a failure as a farmer; as a surveyor; as lawyer: as soldier—yes, and as a saloon keeper—he couldn't make a living a decent one selling rum, and now he comes to you asking for my seat in the Senate.' Here old man Conant told me Lincoln chuckled like a school boy—'Then,' said Lincoln 'it was my turn. I thanked Judge Douglas for having such an accurate biography of me—he covers my pedigree about as well as anyone could, but about my vote on the Mexican affair—Here is Judge Fithian (or Fitter,) who is a Democratic colleague of Douglas, let him say. I brought Fithian right out of his audience—brought him up on the platform and made him admit that I was not in Congress when the question of appropriation for soldiers was voted on.' Then said Mr. Conant—Lincoln chuckled again. 'I said yes, Judge Douglas certainly covered me pretty close. I was a failure as a politician. I was a failure as a surveyor. I was a failure as a lawyer, but Judge Douglas has neglected to

say in his castigation of me as a barkeeper that when I was on one side of the bar, he was always on the other'—this brought down the house, and Judge Douglas laughed off the platform.'

"He told me of his first visit to New York, of his call on Henry Inman—how he came forward to greet him, and how he invited him to sit down by his side while he worked, which was then on a portrait of Bishop Hughes—how he questioned Mr. Conant, then but a boy, about what he had been doing around town. 'I told him I had been up to see Mr. Coleman's exhibit of pictures, when he said 'what did you think of them?' I being in the first flush of youth and enthusiastic, I told him I was enraptured over them. He said, 'Rot, they're all forgeries,' and from that time on I made up my mind I will make a more thorough investigation, and go deeper into things before commenting. Mr. Inman had his studio on Broadway, and was working on a portrait of, or had just finished a portrait of Bishop Onderdonk."

## CHAPTER NINE

In 1858, Captain James N. Brown, a native of Kentucky, was a candidate upon the Republican ticket for the Legislature. Being assailed for running upon the same ticket with a "Black Abolitionist," he wrote to Lincoln for something authoritative. Lincoln procured a small memorandum book in which he pasted newspaper extracts of speeches he had made during the previous several years. I have in my possession a photographic reproduction of this book made by my friend, J. McCan Davis, whose father—still living—was my comrade in the Civil War. This book—Davis says—is the only book ever written by Lincoln—Reference to extracts are in Lincoln's own handwriting.

Following are the first pages of this book, and it will be noted that his first "clippings" are from his speech at Peoria, Tuesday, October 16th, 1854.

Can anything more conclusive be produced to show that the first step, which resulted in his reaching the Presidency, was taken at Peoria, October 16th, 1854? Here are the extracts:

The following extracts  
are taken from various  
speeches of mine delivered  
at various times, and places,  
and I believe the contents  
contain the substance of  
all I have ever said  
about "Negro equality".  
The first three are from  
my answer to Judge  
Douglas, Oct. 16, 1854,  
at Peoria.

PHOTOGRAPH COPY OF LINCOLN'S HAND WRITING RE-  
FERRING TO HIS PEORIA ADDRESS

“The following extracts are taken from various speeches of mine delivered at various times and places and I believe they contain all I have ever said about ‘Negro Equality.’ The first three are from my answer to Judge Douglas, October 16th, 1854 at Peoria.”

First Clipping.

“This is the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The foregoing history may not be precisely accurate in every particular; but I am sure it is sufficiently so, for all the uses I shall attempt to make of it, and in it, we have before us, the chief material enabling us to correctly judge whether the repeal of the Missouri Compromise is right or wrong.

“I think, and shall try to show that it is wrong; wrong in its direct effect, letting slavery into Kansas and Nebraska—and wrong in its prospective principle, allowing it to spread to every other part of the wide world, where men can be found inclined to take it.

“This *declared* indifference, but as I must think, covert *real* zeal for the spread of slavery, I cannot but hate, I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world—enables the ene-

mies of free institutions, with plausibility, to taunt us as hypocrites—causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity and especially because it forces so many really good men amongst ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty—criticising the Declaration of Independence, and insisting that there is no right principle of action but *self-interest*.

“Before proceeding, let me say I think I have no prejudice against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not now exist amongst them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist amongst us, we should not instantly give it up. This I believe of the masses north and south. Doubtless there are individuals on both sides, who would not hold slaves under any circumstances; and others who would gladly introduce slavery anew, if it were out of existence. We know that some southern men do free their slaves, go north, and become tip-top abolitionists; while some northern ones go south, and be——” (This clipping ends here.)

2d Clipping.

“When southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery, than

we; I acknowledge the fact. When it is said that the institution exists, and that it is very difficult to get rid of it, in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the saying. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do, as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia—to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me, that whatever of high hope, (as I think there is) there may be in this, in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. If they were all landed there in a day, they would all perish in the next ten days; and there are not surplus shipping and surplus money enough in the world to carry them there in many times ten days. What then? Free them all, and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this betters their condition? I think I would not hold one in slavery, at any rate; yet the point is not clear enough to me to denounce people upon. What next?—Free them, and make them politically and socially, our equals? My own feelings will not admit of



this; and if mine would, we would know that those of the great mass of white people will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment, is not the sole question, if indeed, it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill-founded, can not be safely disregarded. We can not, then, make them equals. It does seem to me that systems of gradual emancipation might be adopted; but for their tardiness in this, I will not undertake to judge our brethren of the south.

“When they remind us of their constitutional rights, I acknowledge them, not grudgingly, but fully, and fairly; and I would give them any legislation for the reclaiming of their fugitives, which should not, in its stringency, be more likely to carry a free man into slavery, than our ordinary criminal laws are to hang an innocent one.

“But all this; to my judgment, furnishes no more excuse for permitting slavery to go into our own free territory, than it would for reviving the African slave trade by law. The law which forbids the bringing of slaves from Africa; and that which has so long forbid the taking them to Nebraska, can hardly be dis-

tinguished on any moral principle; and the repeal of the former could find quite as plausible excuses as that of the latter.

“Judge Douglas, frequently, with bitter irony and sarcasm, paraphrases our argument by saying “The white people of Nebraska are good enough to govern themselves, but they are not good enough to govern a few miserable negroes!!”

“Well I doubt not that the people of Nebraska are, and will continue to be as good as the average of people elsewhere. I do not say the contrary. What I do say is, that no man is good enough to govern another man without that other’s consent. I say this is the leading principle—the sheet anchor of American republicanism. Our Declaration of Independence says:

‘We hold these truths to be self evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life; liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, DEPRIVING THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED.’

"I have quoted so much at this time merely to show that according to our ancient faith, the just power of governments are derived from the consent of the governed. Now the relation of masters and slaves is, PROTANTO, a total violation of this principle. The master not only governs the slave without his consent; but he governs him by a set of rules altogether different from those which he prescribes for himself. Allow all the governed an equal voice in the government, and that, and that only is self-government.

"Let it not be said I am contending for the establishment of political and social equality between the whites and blacks. I have already said the contrary. I am not now combating the argument of necessity, arising from the fact that the blacks are already amongst us; but I am combating what is set up as moral argument for allowing them to be taken where they have never yet been—arguing against the extension of a bad thing, which where it already exists we must of necessity, manage as we best can."

3d Clipping.

"In the course of his reply, Senator Douglas remarked, in substance, that he had always con-

sidered this government was made for the white people and not for the negroes. Why, in point of mere fact, I think so too. But in this remark of the Judge, there is a significance, which I think is the key to the great mistake (if there is any such mistake) which he has made in this Nebraska measure. It shows that the Judge has no very vivid impression that the negro is a human; and consequently has no idea that there can be any moral question in legislating about him. In his view, the question of whether a new country shall be slave or free, is a matter of as utter indifference, as it is whether his neighbor shall plant his farm with tobacco, or stock it with horned cattle. Now, whether this view is right or wrong, it is very certain that the great mass of mankind take a totally different view. They consider slavery a great moral wrong; and their feelings against it is not evanescent, but eternal. It lies at the very foundation of their sense of justice; and it cannot be trifled with—It is a great and durable element of popular action, and, I think, no statesman can safely disregard it."

PHOTOGRAPH COPY OF LETTER WRITTEN BY ABRAHAM  
LINCOLN TO HON. J. N. BROWN REFERRING TO  
HIS ADDRESS IN PEORIA, ILL., ON  
OCTOBER 16, 1854

Springfield, Oct. 18. 1858  
Hon. J. N. Brown  
My dear Sir

I do not per-  
ceive how I can express  
myself, more plainly, than  
I have done in the follow-  
ing extracts— In four of  
them I have expressly  
disclaimed all intention  
to bring about social and  
political equality between  
the white and black races,  
and, in all the rest,

I have done the same  
thing by clear implication

I have made it equally  
plain that I think  
the negro is included  
in the word "men" used  
in the Declaration of inde-  
pendence.

I believe the declaration  
that "all men are cre-  
ated equal" is the  
great fundamental  
principle upon which

our free institutions rest;  
that negro slavery is vio-  
lative of those principles,  
but that, by our frame  
of government, that prin-  
ciple has not been made  
one of legal obligation;  
that by our frame of gov-  
ernment, the states which  
have slavery are to re-  
tain it, or surrender  
it at their own pleas-  
ure; and that all other  
individuals, free sta-

and national government  
- we constitutionally come  
to leave them alone about  
it.

I believe our government  
was thus framed because  
of the necessity spring-  
ing from the actual  
presence of slavery, when  
it was framed.

That such necessity  
does not exist in the  
territories, where slavery  
is not present.



In his (Mendel's) speech  
the (L)ay says

"Now, as an abstract principle there is no doubt  
of the truth of that declaration (all men are created  
equal), and it is desirable, in the original construction  
of society, and  
in organized societies, to  
keep it in view as a  
great fundamental principle."

Again, in the same speech

Mr. Clay says:

"If a state of nature  
exists, and we were  
alone to lay the founda-  
tion of society, no man  
would be more strongly  
opposed than I should  
be to incorporate the institu-  
tion of slavery among  
its elements.

Exactly so. In our  
new free territories, a  
state of nature does  
exist. In them too.

gave, lays the foundation of society, and, in laying those foundations, I say, with Mr. C., it is desirable that the declaration of the equality of all men should be before us, as a great fundamental principle; and that Congress, which lays the foundation of society, should, like Mr. C., be strongly

opposed to the incorpo-  
ration of slavery among  
its elements—

But it does not follow  
that social and political  
equality <sup>between white and black</sup> must be  
incorporated, because  
slavery must not—  
The declaration does  
not so require—

Yours as ever  
A. Lincoln

## CHAPTER TEN

It occurs to me, as it probably has to the reader, that these sketches are a little "jerky."

They are like Billy Stoughton's typewriter. Billy was a clerk in the office of Captain L. L. Troy, Superintendent Railway Mail Service at Chicago. He was an expert typewriter, who could talk and follow copy at the same time. He also stammered badly. His machine was of the old fashioned kind, and the writing was invisible. I was talking to him one day when he stopped and threw open the carriage to examine the writing. The keys had caught and he found nothing but a lot of meaningless characters. His face clouded with a look of blank astonishment—then he broke into a sunny smile—looking up at me he said: "Bry-Bryner—bes-best typewriter in America—writes ex-ex-exactly like I-I I talk."

I may go "far afield" to give a personal touch to these pages, but the fragrance of memory's flowered fields give them a charm to me of which I hope the reader may catch a faint breath.

Colonel Clark E. Carr of Galesburg was our Minister to Denmark. I knew him well during

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN PEORIA 1854

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the last years of his life, and he told me many things about Lincoln. He was with him upon the train which took Mr. Lincoln to Gettysburg, and he said that Lincoln whilst enroute made pencil notes upon the back of an envelope. It was this probably that gave rise to the story that his address was without previous preparation. It is far more likely that he only jotted down the headings of his speech to aid his memory of a carefully prepared address. As I have before said, at the Peoria meeting the platform was erected upon the south side of the old Court House and entrance thereto was through a window of the office of the Circuit Clerk. I have a vivid recollection of Judge Douglas' appearance as he stepped upon the platform. Colonel Carr has thus described him which coincides perfectly with the picture I have in mind. "He was dressed in a black broad cloth suit of latest Washington cut; with immaculate linen—his trim figure, though small, seemed perfect, as his lustrous eyes looked out from under his massive forehead, surrounded by heavy brown locks. Bold, defiant, confident, he seemed the impersonation of strength and power."

I doubt if anyone man aside from Lincoln contributed so much to the salvation of the Union as Judge Douglas. He virtually broke with his party and carried thousands of his followers with him. At the inauguration of Lincoln, he sat upon the platform and held Mr. Lincoln's hat, thus making public demonstration of his support to the incoming administration. Exactly three months later he passed away in the city of Chicago, an irreparable loss to the Union cause. Edward Bonham was Lieutenant Colonel of the regiment in which I served in the Civil War. I was acquainted with his father, Jeriah Bonham, who wrote "Fifty Years Recollections." From this volume, I make the following extract, as of interest in connection with Lincoln and Peoria:

"There is not much in the early life of Abraham Lincoln to stir the imagination of the reader. There is nothing to rouse up wonderful enthusiasm in the humble process of his education; his experiences of hardships; his early struggles with the rough forces of nature among which he was born. Indeed, we would be trespassing on the domain of history written by others if we attempted to give a brief

history of his early life, which has been so well and ably written by others, among them the campaign biographies of Scripps, Raymond and Barrett, the writings of Ward H. Lamon, Esq., and Hon. Isaac N. Arnold; also, "Life of Abraham Lincoln," by J. G. Holland; Carpenter's "Reminiscences," and later, the "Life and Public Services of Abraham Lincoln," by J. Carroll Power. To the excellence of all these we bear cheerful testimony.

"Our "Recollections" of Mr. Lincoln must be confined in the main, to our personal acquaintance with him, which commenced at the mass Whig State Convention, held at Peoria, in June, 1844. Mr. Lincoln was among the "big guns" in the grand array of eminent statesmen and eloquent speakers present on that occasion; a galaxy of bright particular stars in the constellation of talent and patriotism, numbering among them Gen. John J. Hardin, who afterwards fell at Buena Vista, Colonel Edward D. Baker, who gave up his life at Ball's Bluff during the Rebellion, John T. Stuart, Stephen T. Logan, Jesse K. Dubois, U. F. Linder, O. H. Browning, Joseph Gillespie, Archie Williams, Jackson Grimshaw, T. Lisle Smith, Martin P.



Sweet, Ben. Bond, Richard Yates, T. Lyle Dickey, Lincoln B. Knowlton, D. W. Woodson, Wm. H. Henderson, and a host of others who came up to this grand council in the interests of Clay and Frelinghuysen, the Whig standard bearers in that memorable campaign. In addition to these there were present Caleb B. Smith, Henry S. Lane, and several other Indiana orators, then and since known to fame, and from Missouri, there were the renowned and eloquent Dr. E. C. McDowell, Don Morrison, and many others.

“Among all this brilliant array called to address the convention during the two days’ sessions, none attracted greater and more marked attention than Mr. Lincoln. Dr. McDowell, Caleb B. Smith, Edward D. Baker and Gen. Hardin made their speeches before him. All made grand speeches and were loudly applauded. Gen. Hardin was then the member of Congress from this district, and Col. Baker the candidate for the succession.

“It is among the brightest recollections of that day when Mr. Lincoln took the stand. He did not, on rising, show his full height, stood rather in a stooping posture, his long-tailed coat hang-

ing loosely round his body, descending round and over an ill-fitting pair of pantaloons that covered his not very symmetrical legs. He commenced his speech in a rather diffident manner, even seemed for a while at a loss for words, his voice was irregular, a little tremulous, as at first he began his argument by laying down his propositions. As he proceeded he seemed to gain more confidence, his body straightened up, his countenance brightened, his language became free and animated, as, during this time he had illustrated his argument by two or three well-told stories, that drew the attention of the thousands of his audience to every word he uttered. Then he became eloquent, carrying the swaying crowd at his will, who, at every point he made in his forcible argument, were tumultuous in their applause. His subject was the exposition of the protective system—the tariff,—the method of raising a revenue by a system of duties levied on foreign importations, which at the same time would afford protection to American industries. Mr. Lincoln spoke a little over an hour. His arguments were unanswerable. This speech raised him to the proudest height to which he had ever before

attained. He had greatly strengthened the Whig organization in the state and established his reputation as one of the most powerful political debaters in the country.

“This speech showed to the people that he had thoroughly mastered all the great questions of the day, and brought to their discussion closeness and soundness of logic, with numerous facts, clinched by the most elaborate and powerful arguments. This conclusion, it is among my recollections, we arrived at after enjoying this grand field day, hearing the most gifted of Illinois statesmen discuss all the great questions of the day, and we left with the thousand of others, for their homes, with the firm belief and conviction that Abraham Lincoln was the foremost statesman in Illinois, and would, at that time, have been willing to vote for him for any position from Congressman to President of the United States, both of which privileges were enjoyed in after years.”

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

From early childhood, when in the old Court House in Peoria, I used to sit upon his knee and he bought me big red apples from old man Cutler. Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, America's foremost orator, was throughout life my friend. I recall standing over the furnace register, shaking the black ostrich plume to put it in curl, which he wore upon his hat when he marched away as Colonel of the 11th Illinois Cavalry. As this is a Peoria story of Lincoln, I shall here insert his splendid tribute to the martyred President.

“ABRAHAM LINCOLN—strange mingling of mirth and tears, of the tragic and grotesque, of cap and crown, of Socrates and Democritus, of Aesop and Marcus Aurelius, of all that is gentle and just, humorous and honest, merciful, wise, laughable, lovable and divine, and all consecrated to the use of man; while through all, and over all, were an overwhelming sense of obligation, of chivalric loyalty to truth, and upon all, the shadow of the tragic end.

“Nearly all the great historic characters are impossible monsters, disproportioned by flat-



COLONEL ROBERT G. INGERSOLL OF PEORIA  
As he appeared in 1861 when he departed from Peoria as  
Colonel of the 11th Illinois Cavalry.

tery, or by calumny deformed. We know nothing of their peculiarities, or nothing but their peculiarities. About these oaks there clings none of the earth of humanity.

“Washington is now only a steel engraving. About the real man who lived and loved and hated and schemed, we know but little. The glass through which we look at him is of such high magnifying power that the features are exceedingly indistinct.

“Hundreds of people are now engaged in smoothing out the lines of Lincoln’s face—forcing all features to the common mould—so that he may be known, not as he really was, but, according to their poor standard, as he should have been.

“Lincoln was not a type. He stands alone—no ancestors, no fellows, and no successors.

“He had the advantage of living in a new country, of social equality, of personal freedom, of seeing in the horizon of his future the perpetual star of hope. He preserved his individuality and his self-respect. He knew and mingled with men of every kind; and, after all, men are the best books. He became ac-

quainted with the ambitions and hopes of the heart, the means used to accomplish ends, the springs of action and the seeds of thought. He was familiar with nature, with actual things, with common facts. He loved and appreciated the poem of the year, the drama of the seasons.

“In a new country a man must possess at least three virtues—honesty, courage and generosity. In cultivated society, cultivation is often more important than soil. A well executed counterfeit passes more readily than a blurred genuine. It is necessary only to observe the unwritten laws of society—to be honest enough to keep out of prison, and generous enough to subscribe in public—where the subscription can be defended as an investment.

“In a new country, character is essential; in the old, reputation is sufficient. In the new, they find what a man really is; in the old, he generally passes for what he resembles. People separated only by distance are much nearer together, than those divided by the walls of caste.

“It is no advantage to live in a great city, where poverty degrades and failure brings despair. The fields are lovelier than paved



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streets, and the great forests than walls of brick. Oaks and elms are more poetic than steeples and chimneys.

“In the country is the idea of home. There you see the rising and setting sun; you become acquainted with the stars and clouds. The constellations are your friends. You hear the rain on the roof and listen to the rhythmic sighing of the winds. You are thrilled by the resurrection called Spring, touched and saddened by Autumn—the grace and poetry of death. Every field is a picture, a landscape; every landscape a poem; every flower a tender thought, and every forest a fairy-land. In the country you preserve your identity—your personality. There you are an aggregation of atoms, but in the city you are only an atom of an aggregation.

“In the country you keep your cheek close to the breast of Nature. You are calmed and ennobled by the space, the amplitude and scope of earth and sky—by the constancy of the stars.

“Lincoln never finished his education. To the night of his death he was a pupil, a learner, an inquirer, a seeker after knowledge. You have no idea how many men are spoiled by what is called education. For the most part, colleges



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are places where pebbles are polished and diamonds are dimmed. If Shakespeare had graduated at Oxford, he might have been a quibbling attorney, or a hypocritical parson.

“Lincoln was a great lawyer. There is nothing shrewder in this world than intelligent honesty. Perfect candor is sword and shield.

“He understood the nature of man. As a lawyer he endeavored to get at the truth, at the very heart of a case. He was not willing even to deceive himself. No matter what his interest said, what his passion demanded, he was great enough to find the truth and strong enough to pronounce judgment against his own desires.

“Lincoln was a many-sided man, acquainted with smiles and tears, complex in brain, single in heart, direct as light; and his words, candid as mirrors, gave the perfect image of his thought. He was never afraid to ask—never too dignified to admit that he did not know. No man had keener wit, or kinder humor.

“It may be that humor is the pilot of reason, People without humor drift unconsciously into absurdity. Humor sees the other side—stands

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in the mind like a spectator, a good-natured critic, and gives its opinion before judgment is reached. Humor goes with good nature, and good nature is the climate of reason. In anger, reason abdicates and malice extinguishes the torch. Such was the humor of Lincoln that he could tell even unpleasant truths as charmingly as most men can tell the things we wish to hear.

“He was not solemn. Solemnity is a mask worn by ignorance and hypocrisy—it is the preface, prologue, and index to the cunning or the stupid.

“He was natural in his life and thought—master of the story-teller’s art, in illustration apt, in application perfect, liberal in speech, shocking Pharisees and prudes, using any word that wit could disinfect.

“He was a logician. His logic shed light. In its presence the obscure became luminous, and the most complex and intricate political and metaphysical knots seemed to untie themselves. Logic is the necessary product of intelligence and sincerity. It cannot be learned. It is the child of a clear head and a good heart.

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN PEORIA 1854

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“Lincoln was candid, and with candor often deceived the deceitful. He had intellect without arrogance, genius without pride, and religion without cant—that is to say, without bigotry and without deceit.

“He was an orator—clear, sincere, natural. He did not pretend. He did not say what he thought others thought, but what he thought.

“If you wish to be sublime you must be natural—you must keep close to the grass. You must sit by the fireside of the heart; above the clouds it is too cold. You must be simple in your speech; too much polish suggests insincerity.

“The great orator idealizes the real, transfigures the common, makes even the inanimate throb and thrill, fills the gallery of the imagination with statues and pictures perfect in form and color, brings to light the gold hoarded by memory the miser, shows the glittering coin to the spendthrift hope, enriches the brain, ennobles the heart, and quickens the conscience. Between his lips words bud and blossom.

“If you wish to know the difference between an orator and an elocutionist—between what

is felt and what is said—between what the heart and brain can do together and what the brain can do alone—read Lincoln's wondrous speech at Gettysburg, and then the oration of Edward Everett.

“The speech of Lincoln will never be forgotten. It will live until languages are dead and lips are dust. The oration of Everett will never be read.

“The elocutionists believe in the virtue of voice, the sublimity of syntax, the majesty of long sentences, and the genius of gesture.

“The orator loves the real, the simple, the natural. He places the thought above all. He knows that the greatest ideas should be expressed in the shortest words—that the greatest statues need the least drapery.

“Lincoln was an immense personality—firm but not obstinate. Obstinacy is egotism—firmness, heroism. He influenced others without effort, unconsciously; and they submitted to him as men submit to nature—unconsciously. He was severe with himself, and for that reason lenient with others.

“He appeared to apologize for being kinder than his fellows.

“He did merciful things as stealthily as others committed crimes.

“Almost ashamed of tenderness, he said and did the noblest words and deeds with the charming confusion, that awkwardness, that is the perfect grace of modesty.

“As a noble man, wishing to pay a small debt to a poor neighbor, reluctantly offers a hundred-dollar bill and asks for change, fearing that he may be suspected either of making a display of wealth or a pretense of payment, so Lincoln hesitated to show his wealth of goodness, even to the best he knew.

“A great man stooping, not wishing to make his fellows feel that they were small or mean.

“By his candor, by his kindness, by his perfect freedom from restraint, by saying what he thought, and saying it absolutely in his own way, he made it not only possible, but popular, to be natural. He was the enemy of mock solemnity, of the stupidly respectable, of the cold and formal.

“He wore no official robes either on his body or his soul. He never pretended to be more or less, or other, or different, from what he really was.

“He had the unconscious naturalness of Nature’s self.

“He built upon the rock. The foundation was secure and broad. The structure was a pyramid, narrowing as it rose. Through days and nights of sorrow, through years of grief and pain, with unswerving purpose, ‘with malice towards none, with charity for all,’ with infinite patience, with unclouded vision, he hoped and toiled. Stone after stone was laid until at last the Proclamation found its place. On that the Goddess stands.

“He knew others, because perfectly acquainted with himself. He cared nothing for place, but everything for principle; a little for money, but everything for independence. Where no principle was involved, easily swayed—willing to go slowly, if in the right direction—sometimes willing to stop; but he would not go back, and he would not go wrong.

“He was willing to wait. He knew that the event was not waiting, and that fate was not the

fool of chance. He knew that slavery had defenders, but no defense, and that they who attack the right must wound themselves.

“He was neither tyrant nor slave. He neither knelt nor scorned.

“With him, men were neither great nor small—they were right or wrong.

“Through manners, clothes, titles, rags and race he saw the real—that which is. Beyond accident, policy, compromise and war he saw the end.

“He was patient as Destiny; whose undecipherable hieroglyphs were so deeply graven on his sad and tragic face.

“Nothing discloses real character like the use of power. It is easy for the weak to be gentle. Most people can bear adversity. But if you wish to know what a man really is, give him power. This is the supreme test. It is the glory of Lincoln that, having almost absolute power, he never abused it, except on the side of mercy.

“Wealth could not purchase, power could not awe, this divine, this loving man.

“He knew no fear except the fear of doing wrong. Hating slavery, pitying the master—

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN PEORIA 1854

seeking to conquer, not persons, but prejudices—he was the embodiment of the self-denial, the courage, the hope and the nobility of a Nation.

“He spoke not to inflame, not to upbraid, but to convince.

“He raised his hands, not to strike, but in benediction.

“He longed to pardon.

“He loved to see the pearls of joy on the cheeks of a wife whose husband he had rescued from death.

“Lincoln was the grandest figure of the fiercest civil war. He is the gentlest memory of our world.”





have a vision of "progress" too grandiose to be realized, than like truth's sobering animals. But it is not a fourth part of that time since she received the impulse under which she is now advancing. Twenty years since (1814) our population numbered 1,619; ten years previous to that (1831) the "town" contained about 200 log houses, (one of which is yet tenable), opposite the Congregational Church, on Main street., and noted in my return of improvements in the city.

and one yet serves as a blacksmith shop on Fulton, near Water street,) with seven or twelve frame buildings, numbered at that time about 165 or 170 souls. The above is a view Peoria 20 years ago.

*Manufactories.*—We have two marble factories in this city, they are the most extensive, too, in the State, and can do as good work as any in the West. They are carried on by Messrs. PARKER & PULSBURY, and Messrs. J. JEWELL; one at the head of Franklin and junction with 7th and Perry streets, and the other

Most sincerely yours,  
ELISHA WHITTELY

Heads of Families, and Young Men over  
21 years of age.

1960 arrivals at our landing during the eleven months that Navigation was open, i.e. from the 1st of January to the 16th of December.

Navigation closed on the 16th of December, 1853--the Excel was the last boat out, and opened R. b. 23d, 1854--the first boat up from St. Louis was the R. H. Lee. Since that the Gossmere, Herald, Inella, and this morning the new boat Tyrolie, a rough

# PEORIA CITY RECORD,



## OR DROWN'S STATISTICS FOR 1853.



### PEORIA CITY RECORD.

SATURDAY, MARCH 4TH, 1854.

**LIST of the POPULATION of the City of Peoria, for 1854—**  
Male and Female, under twenty years, and upwards, to eighty years.

	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
In the First Ward	100	100	200	100	100	200	100	100	200
Second Ward	100	100	200	100	100	200	100	100	200
Third Ward	100	100	200	100	100	200	100	100	200
Fourth Ward	100	100	200	100	100	200	100	100	200
Out and population	100	100	200	100	100	200	100	100	200
<b>Total</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>800</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>800</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>800</b>

Of these, one is physician, another eighty five, and the others each thirty.

#### Number of Buildings in each Ward.

	First Ward	Second Ward	Third Ward	Fourth Ward	Total
Stores and warehouses of 1 story	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 2 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 3 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 4 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 5 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 6 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 7 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 8 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 9 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 10 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 11 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 12 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 13 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 14 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 15 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 16 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 17 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 18 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 19 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 20 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 21 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 22 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 23 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 24 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 25 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 26 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 27 stories	100	100	100	100	400
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Stores and warehouses of 89 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 90 stories	100	100	100	100	400
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Stores and warehouses of 97 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 98 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 99 stories	100	100	100	100	400
Stores and warehouses of 100 stories	100	100	100	100	400

Number of log buildings: 2. Frame: 3,000. Brick: 200. Total: 3,200.

PEORIA in 1854, though only in her 35th year, will venture to say is the most beautiful City in the West, its location is not surpassed by any, for the God of Nature in his wisdom formed its site so that there never was nor is there any co-breathing of steam engines, or the

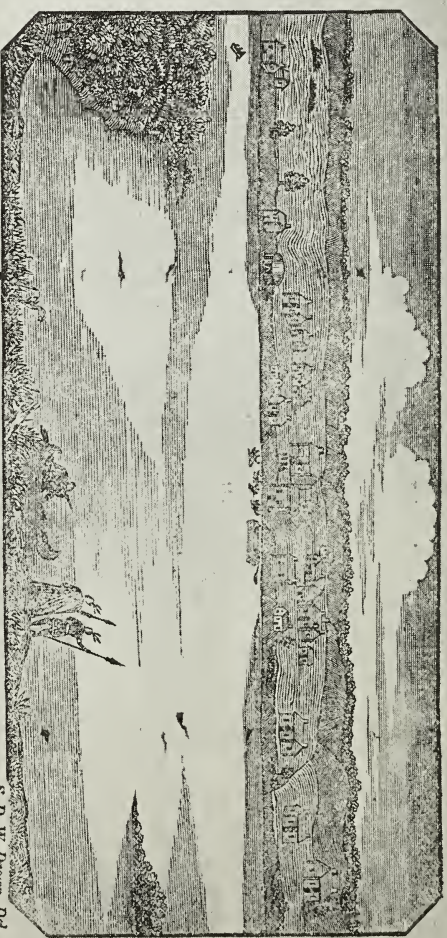
casion of expending a thousand dollars in a thrilling, loud long, terrific, terrific to make every street in the whole of a locomotive is heard, and City possible. Still, our "City-Fa-thriving towns and cities stand out in there" are and have been for a year or two along the shore, doing a loan or two just endeavoring to improve the countess thousands in men upon what God, after he had made it a hand in and produce. Speaking of a "saw that it was good," but improve locomotive and its whistle, it is now ment is the order of the day. A few beginning to be heard in all our conti-years since and most of our riverment we have heard its clear shriek towns now swelling into cities, were in this City for a few months just insignificant hamlets with a meagre shouting, "take care! take care!! the la-woods population. Many of my iron image moves!" What is that in- readers will recall to mind, with a sage like? Has it breath? and what is smile of satisfied pride the local and it? It is the same wonderful thine business condition of our town, when seen in a startling dream, imagined to the business was confined to the fear be for some great purpose inexplicable of bazie nuts and eggs, for latters, it has located a Farms, hands and 500 head, powder and shot. Minature and a live metal with a steam saw— stores, based on a capital of a few hundred here now, and in an hour 10, 50 or cheds, consisting mainly of a chest of 60 miles hence, dragging after it its ten, a sack of coffee, a keg of three-pie, weak creator, with its baggels of rich cyannur James' river tobacco, a barrel of solistances; and sometimes it takes up "bald face" and a dozen butcher knives on its shoulders great palaces full of And then again, the "country folks," human life and plumes into rivers and after they had been to "town" and in lakes and across the wide prairies; and dinged a little in the "critter," about wherever it goes it whistles! The lye- quce a week, must have a little more of a thousand human whoothers in one indulgence in target demonstrations at grand strain united could not raise a candle by night, or at the body of a note felt so loud and thrilling as the turkey Jem's with chalk in an "oak-faintest effort of one iron arm. Old punchoon," after they had got through men when you hear the whistle of the with "trading" and ready to go home iron man of this day do you ever think Such like amusements comprised of the time you whistled to drive off good part of the time and business along our river line of settlements, which are now matters of memory only and thrown far to the rearward in the onward march of improvement with the tunes that "come natural. Whence the timid fawn stood by the margin of the stream or lake, feeding its young never expected then to hear a big piece of iron whistle louder than you could! you can hear it now. The iron whistle is every man's musician—he is the particular favorite of the fast





*spirit enterprise, and the children of  
 tra; dance to the melody of his strain,  
 while cold eyed speculation smiles, and  
 grim-faced avarice laughs aloud when  
 he whistles in the distance.*

As near as I could ascertain the amount of  
 merchandise sold in our City for 1853, to cus-  
 tomers from the east side of the river, and Knox  
 and Stark Counties, who bring their Hogs and  
 Produce to this market, amounts to \$1,193,850.  
 In speaking of Hogs and Produce I will say  
 that Messrs Walker & Kellogg have now being  
 erected one of the largest Packing and Store-  
 houses in the Illinois valley. It is 100ft by 60, 1  
 and 2 1-2 story on the river front, the first sto-  
 ry brick, and 1 1-2 story from fronting the rail  
 road, which is 150 ft by 60 ft, making the whole  
 building 250 ft by 60 ft with an entrance by trus-  
 the work railway [an inclined plane] from the  
 railroad into the 2d story so as to drive the  
 into it to deposit the load, either hogs,  
 corn or coal. The frame part is en-  
 closed and the brick part is progressing.



S. D. W. Brown, Del.

domain of nature, the dwelling place of  
 the savage." Now look back one year  
 of this city and country is more  
 J. Jewell Esq.  
 Dear Sir:—It is with great pleasure that I find myself able  
 to the great advantages that must accrue  
 from the connection. The Peoria and Eu-  
 ropean Valley road will be completed in  
 Washington, Feb. 8, '51.





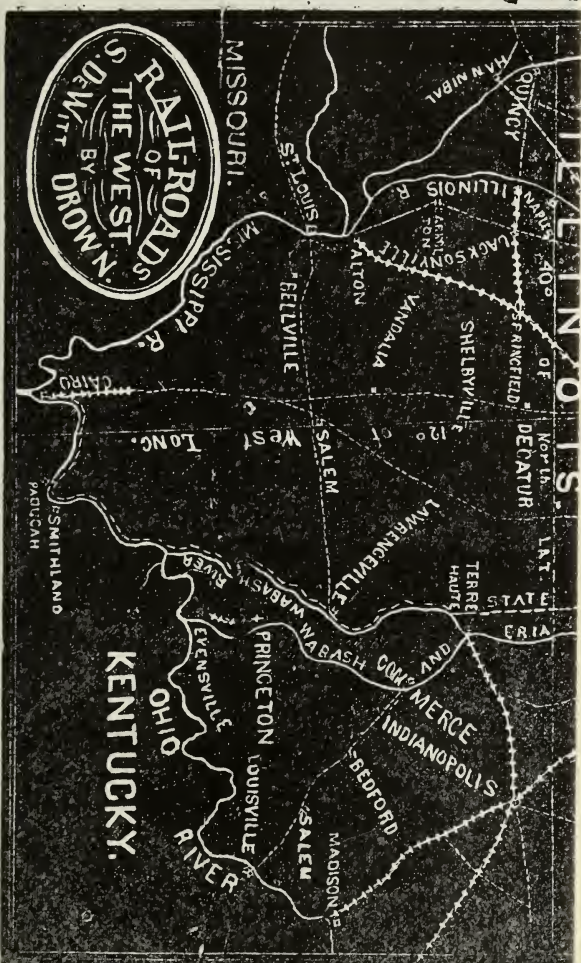
the City of Peoria. Such a sight it is said will be seen in less than a year.

This R-2d is already graded and many of the bridges between this area and Washington, and beyond to the Central route of Bloomington are in progress, and as soon as the rails arrive after navigation opens they will be put down for use.

This road passes through a thickly settled farming country, the centre of the State, and a City which *nature has centred* Agriculture for their market, with an unobstructed River Navigation about 11 months in the year, diverging to and S. (Chicago or Louisville.)

When the "*East-  
Extension*" is complete;  
and we shall be in eu

A TABLE, showing the Imports and Exports in the several countries, as ascertained, to date—February 2d, 1854

[illegible]

By this route you avoid the delay and perplexity one is likely to meet by coming in contact with the 'Erie mobocrats' that have for some time past been so annoying to our Western travelers.

An Act was passed a few days since by our Legislature now in session, to construct a Railroad, connecting with our 'Eastern Extension' and Bureau Valley Road. Went to Fulton, Schuyler, Brown, &c. to Manahat, near Quincy on the Mississippi, thence to St. Joseph, up the Missouri, thereby placing us on one of the direct lines leading from the great contemplated Pacific R. R.—thus we will, no doubt, be connected with 'all mankind,' East and West.

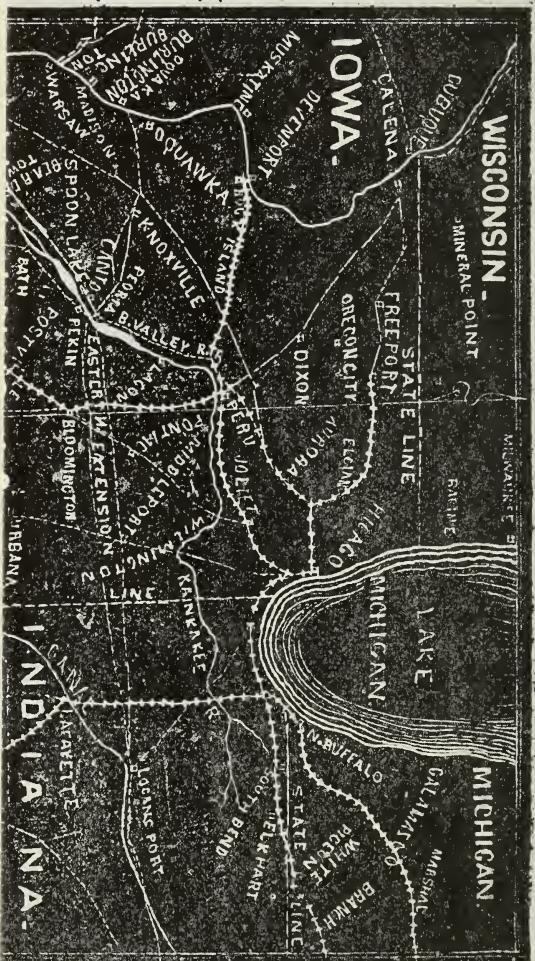






## Our Prospects in Rail Roads.

I have here to fore give a sketch of the Bridge across the Illinois River which so far as the new *Draw* has been made is one of the best in the State, and is calculated for crossing the *Eastern Extension Rail Road*, the Company have erected a Bridge connecting with this across the River extending across the bottom and Farm Creek about 3,300 feet running from 10 to 25 feet high. When this R. Road is in operation it will be a fine spectacle to see the "Iron Man" with his long train attached *kissing* a long at the rate of a mile in 5 minutes or less in



section with the Great Central to Cairo, Indianapolis, Louisville, Cincinnati, the Eastern Cities and the rest of the N. & N. E. even to Canada and the Province of Maine, so that you may step into the cars here at 6 A. M. arrive at Chicago by 4 P. M. leave there at 6 P. M. arrive at Detroit by the Central Michigan Road. (which, by the way is the easiest and safest road by night, or day west of the Lakes.) at 7 A. M. cross over to Canada and once more in the car you are in time to reach Niagara, or Buffalo by 5 P. M., or in time to take the Eastern train for New York, or Boston, and arrive in time to breakfast.























